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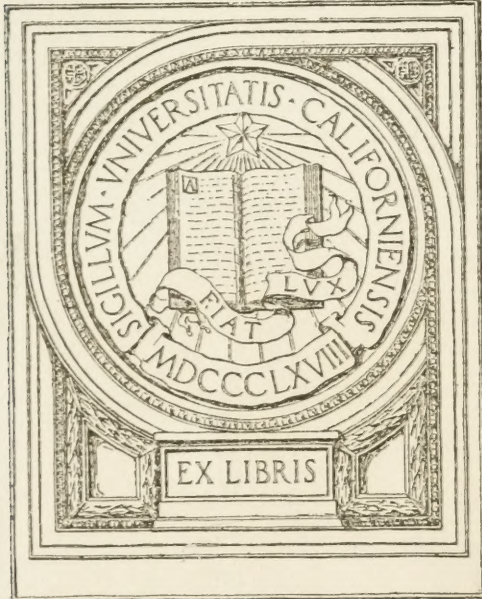
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# RESTORATION AND REVOLUTION

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BOOK I.

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THE RESTORATION.





# THE RESTORATION.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE DISAPPOINTMENT OF THE NATIONAL HOPES.

AN age of mankind full of violent commotions, of wars of vast extent, of unexampled sufferings, and of vicissitudes surpassing all conception, was terminated by the second conquest of the empire of Napoleon. But like all great and epoch-making events, the Wars of Liberation are not merely the close of a completed period, but even in a still higher degree the point of transition from which proceeds a new development. What these years brought to pass was far more than liberation from Napoleon's yoke. While the people of Europe, after the immense efforts and agitations through which they had passed, seemed to have only the feeling of profound exhaustion, only the need of rest and peace, and the universal aim appeared to be the re-establishment of the old, in one word *restoration*, it quickly became manifest that the transformation of civil society, which had been prepared by the intellectual labor of the eighteenth century, could not remain at the point where it had arrived, much less resume the earlier condition, but, rather, must press on, without pausing, in the line of further progress. In like manner it is true that as European political forms became changed, so also, precisely by occasion of Napoleon's universal sway, the feeling of a national life and the urgency to gain political freedom assumed a strength and a power hitherto unknown. Economical and business relations, by the abolition of the feudal system and by the acquired freedom of labor and property, were forced to undergo fundamental changes. The war-like preponderance of the Revolution alone was broken, its other forces continued to operate without abatement.

Into the place of one commanding power, the concord of the Four Powers had come, which had overthrown the former, and erected a new system of states. Among the four, England, so

powerful at sea, indisputably held the first rank; then came Russia, who, in consequence of her advanced western frontier, subsequently pressed as an incubus upon the rest of Europe, and particularly upon her two neighbors, Austria and Prussia. The position which Alexander had taken at the head of the coalition surrounded him with a halo, which was sustained by a brilliant exterior, as if to him pre-eminently the fall of Napoleon was to be attributed; and his vanity was only too readily intoxicated by the homage which liberated Europe lavished upon him. He was habitually enthusiastic on behalf of those ideas of humanity, freedom, and the happiness of the people, which he had imbibed in his youth; and, moreover, the religious sentiment, which under the influence of agitating events had laid hold of the entire age, took in his soul the shape of the mystic illusion that he was a chosen instrument of Providence, called to establish order upon the earth, and to maintain and manifest among men the way to all goodness. This mystic propensity received special nourishment by his acquaintance with Baroness Krüdener, whom he invited to join him in Paris in 1815. Here, amid exercises of penitence and prayer which he established with her and under her guidance, the plan of the Holy Alliance was formed, which he drew up with his own hand, and placed before his allies. "In consequence of the great events of these last years, and especially of the benefits which Divine Providence has manifested to the states which have placed their confidence in Him alone, the three sovereigns herein solemnly declare their determination to take as the guide of their conduct, within their dominions as well as without, only the precepts of the Christian religion, of righteousness, love, and peace, in accordance with Holy Scripture, which commands all men to treat one another as brothers, to remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble brotherhood: to consider themselves, with respect to their subjects and armies, as fathers of a family; and as the representatives of Providence, to rule as three members of one family, thereby acknowledging that a Christian people in truth has no other sovereign than Him to whom alone power belongs."

The reception which this remarkable document found from the two allies corresponded in no respect to the ecstatic sentiment of its author. The least difficulty was made by King Frederick William, out of personal friendship for the emperor, and because he could not do without him as a friend to his exhausted state, encompassed by enemies and envious people. More hesitating was the Emperor





PLATE I.



Emperor Alexander I.

From a steel engraving by Pierre Audouin (1768-1822) ; original drawing by Bourdon.

Francis, whose minister, Metternich, in private spoke of the project only in jest and mockery : yet he also would please Alexander, and on September 26 the Holy Alliance was subscribed by the three sovereigns. By degrees all the Christian rulers of Europe acceded to it, with the exception of two, — the pope, “because at all times he had been in possession of Christian truth, and consequently needed no new declaration of it;” and England, who declined with an appeal to her public law, but in truth because behind this league she suspected a plot against Turkey.

Within the league composed of the Four Powers, there was developing an opposition that became more and more defined, such that Austria, in connection with the English Tories, resisted the power of Russia and the Emperor Alexander, who was not only enthusiastically devoted to liberal ideas, and eager to promote them in the interior of his own realm, but desired also to act the part of an advocate of freedom in all Europe. Undeterred by the futility of the reforms hitherto undertaken by Speransky, — the man who had his confidence, — he had, during his residence in Western Europe, filled his head with large and far-reaching plans in respect to the manner in which he could raise the Russian people out of the old barbarism to a higher degree of civilization. But his other undertakings — measures for the improvement of popular education and of commerce, for the regulation of disordered finances and the abolition of serfdom, the settlement of the crown domains, the establishment of military colonies, and much besides — were all failures, and for the most part served only to increase the evils which it was desired to remove. His dearest wish, also, the bestowing of a constitution of a liberal character upon the kingdom of Poland, was accomplished by the czar on his birthday, December 24, 1817. The discourse with which he opened the diet did indeed hold in prospect the granting of a Russian constitution; but the whole matter only excited ill-humor among the Russians, and no thankfulness on the part of the Poles, who very soon attempted to forge the gift that was received into a weapon wherewith to achieve the restoration of their independence. The greater the disappointments brought upon the emperor by these experiences, the less did his enthusiasm for liberal ideas hold good against opposing external influences.

As Alexander's (PLATE I.) personality was sharply contrasted with that of the Emperor Francis, so were the principles of government held by the two sovereigns in direct opposition. Al-

though penetrated by the persuasion of the grandeur of his absolute power, the Emperor Francis conceived his vocation as ruler to consist in nothing higher than the industry of a petty and unthinking subaltern official. His arid soul, devoid of elevation, excluded any susceptibility for ideal interests. For him the state existed; unconditional obedience to the individual will of the emperor constituted the highest virtue of every officer. He thus stamped the impress of his personality upon the administration, which was like a machine "that whirls about with a great noise, but can never move forward." The three court chanceries established for the year 1817, to have the chief direction of the interior administration, viz., the United, the Hungarian, and the Transylvanian, as also the other 'court-places,' were completely isolated in the circle of their operations, the person of the emperor forming their solitary meeting-point. It was not a despotism that penetrated everywhere, pressing upon the people, but purely a disorganized administration. The assemblies existing in the German possessions of the crown were much too ossified to constitute a check upon absolutism. The army, for which the emperor's wholly unsoldierly nature had no sympathy, fell into decay. Economically Austria presented the appearance of complete torpidity. Since 1811 her finances were solidified into the condition of a chronic, even a fraudulent, bankruptcy. Systematic suppression from the high authorities awaited every free movement of the soul. Writers appeared to the emperor as a class which went to work professionally to spread disquiet among the people. The schools for the people languished altogether; literature of a higher order was struck dumb; even the church retained only the significance of a police for purposes of discipline, and was in other respects in the same subjection as every other vital institution. But in the indifference with which the population endured this condition, and substituted more and more material enjoyment in place of regard for higher interests, it was made clearly evident how remote from the Austrian mind that inner refinement continued to be which the people of Germany, and especially of Prussia, had acquired amid the sufferings of the Napoleonic period. The ethics of Kant and Fichte, under whose discipline the educated youth of Germany grew up, were unknown things to them. But of necessity the German-Austrian, on account of this intellectual deadness, forfeited much of that which would have assured to him a leading place among the various peoples composing the imperial realm.



Hungary, in its constitution, saved from the bloody contest against the Hapsburg dynasty in the seventeenth century, possessed a bulwark against absolutism. While this secured to the nobility immunity from taxation, and other privileges, it held, on the other hand, the remaining part of the nation in the oppressed condition of vassals. Nevertheless, it secured in this wholly feudal-autocratic form considerable scope for development. The provincial assemblies and the Board of Magnates possessed the right of enacting laws, and of making grants; and the nobility also enjoyed, through their fifty-five counties, a high degree of influence and independence, so that Hungary maintained in reference to the central government an entirely different position from that held by any other part of the empire. And while the government, in its need of money, illegally, and notwithstanding the opposition of the diet of Presburg, had recourse to the expedient of putting into circulation the financial decree of 1811 in Hungary, as well as elsewhere, even this proceeding contributed to impress on Hungary the value of its legal position. The real intention of the government was simply to get rid of an inconvenient opposition, and it therefore neglected summoning the diet; but now the counties refused to bear the subsidies which were not voted by the diet, and submitted finally only under protest. When the government sought also to carry through the requirement to pay the contribution in convention-coin of Vienna standard, and the levy of recruits without consent of the diet, it met with an opposition before which it was obliged to strike its flag. Afterward it was decided in Vienna to renounce all attacks upon the Hungarian constitution, and to leave it, preferably, to decay by its own stubbornness and awkwardness. For beyond the firm maintenance of hereditary rights the opposition of Hungary did not go; the thought of reform was as remote from this nobility, proud of its privileges, as from the palace of the emperor. But the tenacious struggle with regard to rights that conformed to the constitution left behind it such an effect that it awakened the national sentiment of the Magyar, and with the sense of decay aroused also the impulse to establish it again.

So little correspondence was there between the spread of Austria's power externally and her strength within. Moreover, this system of rigid immutability was not simply the expression for the narrow range of thought of her chief leader, but it was also embraced as the sole means of defence against the inroad of constitu-



tional ideas which would necessarily have menaced with dissolution a conglomeration of such diverse nationalities as were represented by the Austrian monarchy. With all this, the men of the Vienna palace were tormented by doubt of the permanence of their system. "My realm," sighed the emperor, "is a worm-eaten house. If one removes a part, no man can tell how much will fall down afterwards." Metternich, also, by no means had his eyes closed upon the danger of the situation; but in this prudent and adroit, but frivolous and morally and mentally superficial man of the world, devoid of all deeper cultivation, there were wanting qualities requisite in order to seize that which was higher. He observed, indeed, that more ruling and less administration was needed; he warned against excessive centralization, and counselled a just consideration of national diversities; but as to the rest, he avowed as a solace to the dulness of his apprehension that no time was less suited for extended reforms than the present. For this reason foreign policy formed his peculiar domain. Since the Congress of Vienna he was regarded as indisputably the first statesman in Europe. He did not, however, venture to plant himself upon the internal strength of Austria. He was rather obliged to proceed on the view, that the state which he directed, owing to the ruinous disorder of its finances, to the decay of its military power, and the routine of its administration, was not in a condition generally for the development of its force from within. Compensation for this deficiency he sought in a tortuous diplomatic art, and, in addition, by maintaining Austria's traditional influence in Germany and Italy. That by this method he sought the main support of the imperial state, and felt himself bound to contend in every way against the national aspirations of both peoples, regarding them simply as the consequence of revolutionary errors, became almost fatal to Austria.

In that which concerned her relations to Germany, Austria had thus ceased in fact to be a German power. The preponderant majority of her inhabitants were not Germans; they consisted of Slavs, Magyars, and Italians. Her interests lay principally toward the east and south; and the bonds which at an earlier day united both parts closely to each other had become loosened by the decay of the empire, by the disappearance of the ecclesiastical states, and in consequence of mediatization. If, in spite of this, the former wearer of the crown of the German-Roman empire claimed the first place in the new Germany, and proceeded to avail himself of the advantages

of this position in furtherance of his separate interests, a fetter was thus thrown over the latter from former times, which excluded any further development into a political unity upon national principles. Besides, every man had so much to accomplish in order to establish once more for himself a tolerable existence out of the ruins of the general convulsion, that only the very smallest interest was felt in political affairs. It is true, that the great struggle for national independence had led to a consciousness of the common interdependence and unity, but there was no clear conception of the manner in which this could be wrought out. The vague desire for a united and powerful Germany, which hovered before many minds, restrained none from feeling themselves first of all Prussians, Bavarians, Saxons, or Hessians. The philosopher Hegel, in his introductory discourse at Heidelberg, explained that only for this had the German nation extricated itself from that which was low, in order that it might be able anew and speedily to turn its attention inwardly to the interests of the purely speculative intellect. The German people must pass through a period of schooling; and it must first be educated in individual states to a sense for public affairs, and to a participation in them, before it could take in hand the creation of national unity. The first German prince who gave a constitution to his people was the Grand Duke Charles Augustus of Saxe-Weimar, May 5, 1816; he was followed by Bavaria on May 26 and by Baden on August 22, 1818. The motive with the rulers of South Germany was not, as with Charles Augustus, a high-souled understanding of the times; but they seized upon the constitutions as a weapon of defence against Austria's desire of hegemony, as well as against Prussia's attempts to establish an injurious confederate unity, and also for the purpose of protecting their sovereignty from any abridgment by the Confederation, to connect more firmly the acquisitions bestowed by Napoleon with the country to which they were given, and to remove from their subjects the thoughts of nationality by securing to them some harmless rights. In Würtemberg the despotic king, Frederick I., had in great haste availed himself of the sovereignty conferred by Napoleon, for the purpose of setting aside the old provincial assemblies, which certainly were wholly inapplicable to the newly acquired districts. Now he also bestowed a constitution from anxiety with regard to the interference of the Confederation; but on the part of the old Würtembergers, he thereby encountered stubborn opposition, for they, with Swabian boldness, demanded back

their ancient rights. It was not till under his successor, William I., when the growing strength of the reaction counselled circumspection, that the constitution of September 19, 1819, came into being through an agreement between the government and the estates. Hesse-Darmstadt received a constitution on December 17, 1820. Although the measure of political freedom secured by these constitutions was rather limited, yet they always possessed the value of a step forward. In North Germany only a few states received constitutions. In the kingdom of Saxony and in Mecklenburg, the old feudal constitutions — mediaeval ruins in modern drapery — of necessity passed current as a fulfilment of Article 13 of the act of establishment of the Confederation; and in Hanover, a general assembly (December 7, 1819), dominated by the nobility alone, answered the same purpose.

In Prussia, on the other hand, the question of a constitution did not, in general, during this period succeed in attaining the object aimed at. Already an "*ad interim* national representation" had been in session from 1812–1815, whose business, however, was confined substantially to the management of obligations pertaining to the war. The special point of transition for the further development of this question did not occur till May 22, 1815, when, on the threshold of the war of that year, the king proclaimed his solemn promise that a representative body of the people should be formed, to be chosen from the provincial diets. A commission, of which the chancellor of state should be president, was appointed to assemble on September 1, to consult with regard to the law that should create the constitution. For this the word of the king was pledged. But neither he himself nor anyone besides had a clear conception of the scope and bearing of that promise. Every other labor should be preceded by the organization of the administration, the healing of the wounds inflicted by the war, the restoration of the public credit and of the general prosperity so greatly impaired. For the first-named object a firm foundation was laid by the appointment of ten — later, by omitting West Prussia and Lower Rhine, of eight — chief presidents. But this measure at once encountered much opposition. Where, from ancient times, the local representative boards were in existence, they contended, according to their ability, against being merged into the new provincial assemblies. But even with regard to the constitution to be formed, there was far from being an agreement among the ministers. In the traditions of Prussia, who

had been rendered great by the wise and circumspect autocracy of her sovereigns, and by the ability of her official body in contests with the feudal oligarchy, there was something that stood opposed to a limitation of the king's absolute power by means of local institutions. And thus the great reforms since 1807 were not extorted, as in other countries, from a government that resisted reform, but were granted freely by the governing power, and even imposed upon the people against their will. To her princes Prussia owed a liberal, democratic administration and legislation. She possessed these as truly as any constitutional state on the Continent, and it was a government that reposed upon the foundation of equal rights and equal duties for all. In the old provinces the people were not in the least disposed to profane by impatient demands the bond of devout piety that knit them to their king. The king, also, felt positive aversion to any limitation of his monarchical power, and that which was taking place abroad in the French chamber of deputies and in Würtemberg was not so attractive as to cause imitation. But the weightiest consideration was this: a Prussian constitution indicated at once the dissolution, at least the loosening, of the alliance of the eastern powers, and the isolation of Prussia, a result that was contrary to the fundamental principle of the foreign policy of Frederick William III. But reasons not less weighty spoke on the other side in favor of fulfilling the promise of May 22, 1815. Only as exhibiting the marks of a constitutional life would Prussia continue to be the standard-bearer of the German nation. Assuredly no fixed time had been appointed for the fulfilment of the same, yet an indefinite postponement would have been only an unworthy evasion. Consequently neither the king nor Hardenberg thought of renouncing the promise that had been given. The matter, however, developed more and more unfavorably to the project of a constitution. Its champions were found to be at a disadvantage, because their views were very different; some, like Stein, Niebuhr, Gneisenau, and Stägemann, having before their minds the form of a representative organization resting upon a historic basis; others, like Schön, Humboldt, and Vincke, were rather the adherents of the modern representative system. Out of them Hardenberg was unable to create a strong party. Notwithstanding the increasing feebleness of age and difficulty in hearing, Hardenberg did not venture to lean upon the ablest men for fear of creating rivals.

Under these circumstances the opponents of the constitution



who gathered around the minister von der Goltz, the state councillors von Lottum, Schuekmann, and von Bülow, General von Kneesebeck and Prince Wittgenstein, minister of police, gained ground constantly, and the authority of Hardenberg was constantly diminishing. The conflict that broke out at one time, and the king's too great indulgence, sharpened the contest between opposing views. In accordance with the circle of ideas that characterized the reactionary party, the privy councillor Schmaltz, a brother-in-law of Scharnhorst, produced a pamphlet which warned the princes of the revolutionary spirit prevailing in Germany, and held up to suspicion several highly esteemed men as members of the Tugendbund. Those assailed — among them Schleiermacher and Niebuhr — indignantly demanded investigation, but it was refused. The king, to whom the uproar that arose was very repugnant, forbade the continuance of the paper war; but an order conferred on Schmaltz precisely at this time could hardly be regarded as other than an approval of the denunciation. The commission on the constitution announced for September 1, 1815, did not assemble until July 7, 1817, and in truth only to receive the communication that three commissioners would visit the provinces to inquire into the relations of a constitution to them, and into the wishes of well-disposed persons, and especially whether these were inclined to an assembly for the kingdom, or simply to provincial diets. Undoubtedly this was the most preposterous way of obtaining a constitution.

So much the less could Prussia now think of undertaking the leadership of the German nation, which Stein, Gneisenau, and those of like mind had so readily allotted to her. Partly through the jealousy of the other powers, and partly on account of the unskilfulness of her statesmen, Prussia perceived that she must be first of all devoted to the maintenance of rest and peace, and therewith of harmony with her allies of 1813. A bold, independent policy was forbidden to this state, which indeed ranked with the great powers, but of itself was not yet rendered equal to the others. Furthermore, such a reserve corresponded with the personal inclinations of King Frederick William. In himself not capable of bold resolutions, he had been compelled to experience too abundantly the bitterness of dependence upon arrogant allies, and yet he did not for that cause fall into a spiritless feeling of dependence. His personal friendship with the Emperor Alexander became still closer by the marriage of his daughter Charlotte with the Grand Duke Nicholas.

This restriction which lay upon Prussia gave Metternich a great advantage in shaping the relations of the German Confederation. Contrary to general expectation, the opening of the session of the confederate diet, which was appointed for September 1, 1815, was postponed for more than a year. The chief cause of the delay originated in negotiations between the cabinets of Vienna and Berlin. Prussia especially, who only with reluctance had given her subscription to the defective and indefinite acts constituting the Confederation, desired, before the session of the Confederation opened, an accurate designation of her position in it, a control of the Confederation equally divided between Austria and Prussia, and in correspondence with this, a military system according to which the contingents of the smaller confederated states should be attached to those of the two great powers. To set aside these demands, all the small states fled forthwith beneath the sheltering wings of the double eagle. Rejected by great and small, Prussia submitted even at Frankfort to the subordinate position imposed upon her, renounced in advance all efforts to secure a German nationality, and the only thing which her representative, Wilhelm von Humboldt, wrung from Count Buol consisted in the concession that nothing should be brought forward in the session of the Confederation without previous consultation with Prussia and joint deliberation. He pointed at that time to the course actually pursued at a later day, that arrangements profitable in general were attainable from Berlin only by agreements with the individual states. But to the German Confederation were thus imparted the two hereditary evils in consequence of which its entire pitiable existence was obliged to languish, — gradual decay and the antagonism between Austria and Prussia. It was not until November 5, 1816, that occurred the solemn opening of the assembly of the Confederation. On the advice of Humboldt and Hardenberg, the king of Prussia reluctantly conceded that of those provinces which had not belonged to the old empire, only Silesia and Lusatia should enter the German Confederacy, in order thus to come to an equipoise with Austria, whose confederated territories numbered about 8,000,000 of inhabitants. Posen, East and West Prussia, remained without, so that thus the state might maintain her character as a European Great Power, and be able always to repel interference in her foreign policy by the diet of the Confederation.

If it had been the aim of the German Confederation to remedy the incapacity of the greater number of its members, who by them-

selves alone were unable to fulfil the destiny of sovereign and independent states, it showed its own inability to render even such a service. The composition of the Confederation, with its *plenum* of seventy, its lesser council of seventeen voices, of which number but two belonged to the Great Powers, was clumsy even to helplessness with its single and its collective voting. By accrediting envoys to the diet, foreign powers obtained only a new handle for intrigues at the expense of German interests. At first the assembly of the Confederation was impressed with the belief that it had a will of its own, and the right of independent expression and action; but as soon as it presumed to take action against a German sovereign, the elector of Hesse, the assembly learned another lesson. The folly of the old lord in declaring all which had been done during the Westphalian epoch as simply not done, and in bringing back the conditions of his country precisely as they were at the time of his expulsion, was surpassed by the growing universal cupidity wherewith he again inaugurated his rule in 1815. He ordered the removal of the ancient exemption of the nobles from taxation; but he did not recognize Westphalian state-indebtedness, and compelled the purchaser of Westphalian public domains to make unconditional restitution of the same. When now the assembly promised to one of the purchasers that they would interpose in case of a renewed representation remaining without result, and energetically put back the elector within proper limits, the governments manifested so plainly their displeasure at such treatment of a co-sovereign, that from that time onward the deputies of the Confederation in their assembly preferred to come to a vote only on the basis of instructions conveyed to them.

This weakness of the structure of the Confederation caused a feeling of the deepest dissatisfaction. First of all, and most powerfully, impatience had seized upon the youth, and especially those in the universities, because so small a part of the expected fruits of the war of freedom had come to maturity. The moral, scientific, and physical training of young men to serve the fatherland was the beautiful ideal and aim of the Burschenschaft (association of students), founded on June 12, 1815, at Jena, and rapidly extended to most German universities. Much youthful immaturity and extravagance doubtless appeared in connection with it; but according to the plan indicated by Jahn, the teacher of gymnastics, it was suited to its original creation and German birth, and was enthusiastically devoted to the ideal of a free Christian Germany. This aim at a

life for the fatherland and the nation, however, imparted naturally a political tendency, which was developed the more readily at Jena, because in that city political questions had acquired, in Luden's *Nemesis* and Oken's *Isis*, a vigorous although vague representation. The plan that was suggested by Jahn's circle in Berlin was earnestly approved. It was to celebrate at the Wartburg, on October 18, 1817, the threefold festival of the Reformation, of the victory of Leipzig, and of the first meeting of the students (*Burschen*). Five hundred students flocked together to the festival, which passed off with elevated emotions, the city authorities, the clergy of Eisenach, as well

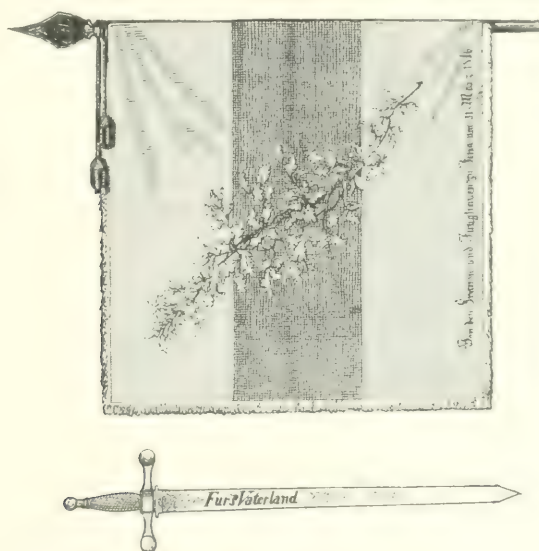


FIG. 1. — The sword and banner of the Burschenschaft (association of students).  
(From "Gartenlaube, 1865.")

as Professors Oken and Fries, participating in it. A religious impulse characterized the entire proceedings. Politics were scarcely thought of except as incidental; but the founding of a universal German Burschenschaft (Fig. 1) was decided upon, and, as a reminder of the old imperial standard, black, red, and gold were chosen as their colors, which were regarded thenceforth as those of freed and united Germany. The festival was at an end when a mere handful of students, in imitation of the Luther's burning of the bull of excommunication, made an auto da fé of different offensive writings, and added to the pile a Hessian pigtail, a corporal's stick, a guard's scarf, and other reactionary symbols.



This act of youthful extravagance was to be followed by the most serious results. The reaction sounded an alarm; von Kamptz, the author of the code of the gendarmes, one of those assailed, demanded in the boldest manner protection against this mass of intractable professors and misguided students. Even Hardenberg, who dreaded the effects of such demonstrations upon his projected constitution, hastened to propose to Metternich a joint interference against a "Jacobinism that was everywhere raising its head." When the first application made by both to the Grand Duke Charles Augustus was declined, Hardenberg, in company with the Austrian envoy, personally enforced at Weimar the abolition of freedom of the press, and an inquiry was directed against the incriminated professors. From day to day the king of Prussia became more hesitating with regard to the fulfilment of his promises of a constitution; and on March 21, 1818, in an order of the cabinet, he reserved to himself the determination of the time for granting a constitution. This meant, in truth, giving it up altogether.

Metternich succeeded almost beyond expectation in drawing into the net of reaction even the Emperor Alexander, the special patron of liberalism. That the actually existing alliance of the Powers, whose conflicting tendencies, claims, and views were fused together only for the moment, could not long continue, was very plainly perceived by the astute director of Austrian politics; and he was filled with apprehension at the thought of the approaching downfall of the system which was the guaranty of the temporary situation. From this feeling arose his proposal, submitted to the Russian emperor, of a new congress of sovereigns, which should confirm the arrangement made at Vienna, and give assurance to the world of the permanence of their alliance. The urgently expressed desire of Louis XVIII., that the occupation of France be terminated, also sustained the project of convening another assembly. The feeling of Alexander at this time caused such representations to fall upon a propitious soil. His liberal ideas had suffered many blows. In the midst of the festivities in celebration of the birth of a nephew and heir to the throne, came the discovery that in his own kingdom, and, above all, in his army, revolutionary secret societies were in existence. The emperor did not venture to follow up the traces of conspiracy, but liberal reforms now came to an end forever. Sprung only from the humor of the autocrat, they vanished also with it. The foreign policy of Alexander also experienced a revolution. In



his feeling of disappointment and distress he renounced his previous rôle, and submitted himself more and more to the principles and guidance of Metternich. He furthermore conceded to him that participation in the congress should be confined, in the first instance, to the four contracting parties to the alliance of Chaumont.

The congress of Aix-la-Chapelle was in session from September 30 to November 21, 1818. With regard to the evacuation of France, an agreement had been reached in advance; and the sum to be paid by France to the powers was fixed at 265,000,000 francs. That country was invited to take part in future deliberations; and a visit of the sovereigns of Russia and Prussia to Paris sealed the readmission of France into the council of European Great Powers. Various questions of boundary as yet unsettled were intrusted to a commission, which held its sessions in Frankfort. Only with reference to the contention of Bavaria and Baden the powers came to an understanding at this time, in order that the variance should not assume more dangerous proportions, and decided to recognize the integrity of Baden, and the right of succession as pertaining to the counts of Hochberg. Bavaria, notwithstanding all protests in the Frankfort court of territorial adjustment of July 20, 1819, was obliged to content herself with an unimportant cession of territory, and a stipend to be paid by Austria. For the better defence of the German western frontier, Landau was declared to be a fortress of the Confederation; and the right of placing a garrison in Mayence was assigned jointly to Austria, Prussia, and Hesse-Darmstadt. By a circular conceived in the spirit of the Holy Alliance, and issued November 15, the conclusions reached were brought to the knowledge of the public, and solemn expression given to the union and love of peace of the Great Powers. In thus binding all the Great Powers to the maintenance of peace, a new and very significant principle was introduced into international law. The peace of Europe seemed to be more firmly secured than ever against all revolutionary commotions.

A few months only and all were to be convinced of their error. All the passions and energies of European nations had been too powerfully aroused by the late wars to allow them at once to return to the former condition of political slumber. The Revolution, believed to be dead, quickly raised its head anew here and there; and even the youthful friendship of Austria and Russia was, in consequence of their opposing interests, to endure actual trial poorly.

In truth, in the circles of academic youth morbid matter had

been gathering, and was fermenting. Discontent and exasperation, caused by the disappointment of political hopes, had developed into republican and revolutionary ideas, which did not shrink even from very extreme measures for their accomplishment. The Burschenschaft was not at first the central seat of this political movement, but Giessen and the province of Upper Hesse. During the period of foreign supremacy a secret league was formed there to effect a united and free Germany; and Professor Snell had been appointed its head in Giessen, and Councillor Hoffmann in Rödelheim. The society was indeed dissolved in 1815; but out of it the



FIG. 2. — August von Kotzebue. From an etching by M. S. Lowe. Berlin, 1819.

nucleus of a new league was formed among the Giessen students, called the *Schwarzen* ('Blacks'), the soul of which was the resolute, but fanatically eccentric, Karl Follen. After he was made professor at Jena he gained over associates of similar views. By his means a separation took place from the *Schwarzen* of the *Unbedingten* ('Unconditionals'), whose 'fundamental principles' he formulated, according to which sedition, tyrannicide, and everything that in ordinary life is considered criminal, were to be regarded simply as means

through which, if other agencies failed, the freedom of the people was to be obtained. The 'Unconditionals' were still outbid by the *Haarscharfen* ('very sharp'). Wholly overcome by these wild doctrines, Karl Ludwig Sand of Wunsiedel, student of theology, a man of thoroughly religious and moral disposition, but narrow and unsettled in mind, conceiving the plan of sacrificing himself, with the view of arousing the nation to a feeling of its disgrace, determined to kill Kotzebue (Fig. 2), the writer of comedies, and a Russian state councillor, who in his "Political Weekly Gazette" fought in the most malignant manner against all that was called liberal. The most striking punishment possible to inflict

upon one so generally stigmatized as a traitor to German honor would excite thousands to follow the example given them. On March 23, 1819, Sand stabbed Kotzebue at his house in Mannheim. Being apprehended, after failing in an attempt to commit suicide, he steadfastly denied having accomplices. When his wounds were healed, he was beheaded on May 20, 1820.

The impression made by Sand's deed was immense; and this was strengthened by the murderous assault perpetrated by Löhning, an apothecary at Schwalbach, upon von Ibell, president of the government of Nassau. So great was the confusion of thought created by discontent over public affairs, that the chief sympathy was bestowed on the slayer. The more urgent was the obligation resting on the governments to put a stop to the mischief. With a kind of joy Metternich, then in Rome, greeted the intelligence of what had occurred. He who had rescued the world from the Corsican conqueror considered himself summoned also to save it from the demon of revolution. He reminded the friendly governments that the quadruple alliance maintained by him at Aix-la-Chapelle must manifest itself, not merely in reference to France, but with reference to Germany also, now the football of the most desperate parties. The instruction given to Count Buol, to take in hand immediately the regulation of the universities by the assembly of the Confederation, was the introduction to the general campaign against liberalism.

It was suddenly discovered at Vienna that Germany could not possibly remain in her present condition: that the German Confederation was an over-hasty and badly arranged piece of work: that the assembly was without power to execute its decrees, and since its first existence it had become the same nullity as the old imperial diet at Ratisbon. But that which had destroyed even the foundations of this Confederation was the disfiguring of Article 13, by substituting for provincial estates the constitutions granted by the several sovereigns; for while constitutions might be suitable in England and France, in the German states this measure only led to the speedy and utter weakening of the authority of the sovereign, to the supremacy of the democracy, and, as regards the relations of the confederated states, to universal confusion. After, however, a kind of an attempt to effect a *coup d'état* in the very assembly of the Confederation had been foiled by the firm opposition of von Wangenheim of Würtemberg, Metternich was compelled to adopt other methods. On returning from Italy, he sought out King Frederick William and

Hardenberg at the baths of Teplitz, and found them wholly in agreement with his own views. Both were especially disposed to believe that under the representative constitutions named in Article 13, only provincial diets were to be understood, and not representatives of the people in the modern sense. They were agreed respecting the need of a strong press-law for the Confederation, and regulations for the universities and schools. Upon the joint invitation of Austria and Prussia, their delegates assembled on August 7, with those of Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Würtemberg, Baden, and Nassau, at Karlsbad, to take counsel respecting speedy and effectual measures for protection against revolutionary machinations. Here were brought forward the notorious five Karlsbad Decrees, prepared by Gentz: that there should be passed by the assembly of the Confederation an authentic interpretation of Article 13 in the sense of the monarchical principle; the introduction of the censorship, to continue five years, for all pamphlets and for books of less than twenty sheets; the assembly should be empowered to intervene in case of necessity against a government of the Confederation or its subjects, even without application on the part of the former; inspection of universities by government commissioners; prohibition of the Burschenschaft and of the gymnastic clubs; and the institution of a central commission at Mayence for inquiry into the plots of demagogues. In order to allow individual governments no time for comprehending them, the ratification of these resolutions, in themselves utterly invalid, was effected through the assembly (September 20), with a precipitation that violated even the legal forms. Metternich had counted upon the disgust of the sovereigns of South Germany for constitutional government. But small as was the affection of these princes for the constitutional principle, they yet reflected that wrangling with a few ill-mannered tribunes of the people would be easier to bear than the yoke of vassalage under Austria; and their constitutions appeared to them in a new light as the shield which they could hold before them. In Bavaria, where the crown-prince Louis, supported by Wrede and the minister Lerchenfeld, was recognized as a defender of the constitution, to which he also had made oath, the government caused the resolutions of the Confederation of September 20 to be acknowledged only in so far as they were not opposed to its sovereignty, to the constitution, and to existing laws, but did not sanction the ordinance of execution, and restricted the censorship to political writings. But the king of Würtemberg was now not only



in haste to ratify the constitution, for such a long time the subject of dispute with his estates, but he hastened in person to Warsaw to call upon his imperial brother-in-law for assistance. Thus was declared, as one of the severest misfortunes attending German national development, the secret political war, in which, by occasion of the Karlsbad Decrees, the members of the Confederation were set at variance with one another. The main result, however, was that Metternich, by means of the opportunity of combating demagogues, had effected the subjection of Germany beneath the supremacy of Austria.

Conferences of the confederated states, for the purpose of completing the business half-finished at Frankfort, were appointed to be held at Vienna, where Metternich hoped to bring to bear his personal ascendancy in a manner altogether different from his experience elsewhere. But the earnest opposition of Würtemberg, assured of Russian support, the courage with which Zentner defended the Bavarian constitution, in part also the prudent reserve of Prussia, represented by Count Bernstorff, again defeated extreme measures. After Hardenberg had become convinced that the giving of additional power to the Confederation, for which he had contended at the Congress of Vienna, would be contrary to the interests of Prussia, and would check the free movement of her economic forces, he concluded that the sovereignty of the individual states should be preserved unimpaired. Furthermore, occurrences in the Romance south conveyed a warning to Metternich not to bend the bow too much; and with his usual pliancy he knew how to escape a defeat while contenting himself with the attainable. The closing act at Vienna, May 15, 1820, to which the assembly of the Confederation gave its assent on June 8, left everything as regards the main point as before. The German Confederation was therein defined as an indissoluble union, not of German states, but of German sovereign princes and free cities. The actually existing constitutions remained untouched; only the general state-power must continue to be united in the head of the state, and consequently no prince might be hindered in the fulfilment of his confederate duties.

This unforeseen result, in connection with the alarm felt in presence of the revolutions that had broken out in the south, was also the reason on account of which the states of middle rank were easily reconciled to the new relationship. Even the Würtemberg provinces, hitherto so stubborn in opposition, now showed themselves yielding. When the publicist, Franz List, chosen as a deputy, ven-



tured an attack upon government by clerks and the omnipotence of the office-holding body, he was thrust out of the Chamber, and sentenced to close imprisonment. Particularism flourished in full bloom. Confederation and governments had sacrificed their natural position at the head of the nation, and abased themselves to that of its adversaries and persecutors.

It would not have come to this had not Prussia more and more fallen into the wake of Metternich. People did not feel ashamed to

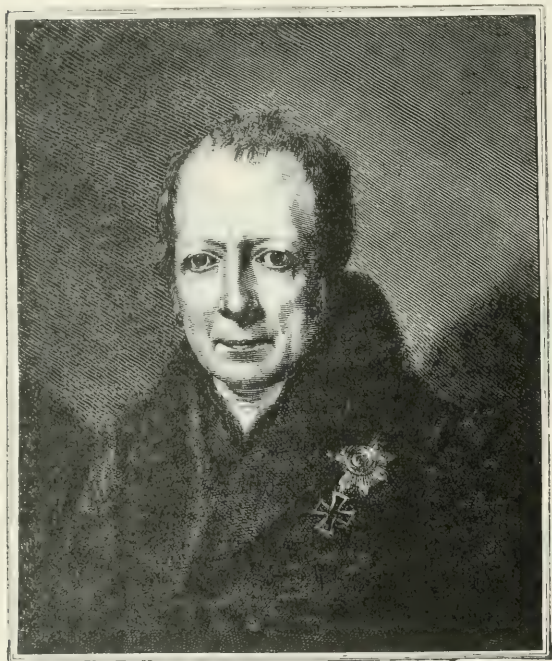


FIG. 3. Wilhelm von Humboldt. From a copper-plate engraving by J. L. Raab (born 1825); original painting by C. Krüger.

select the anniversary of the battle of Leipzig as the day for proclaiming the Karlsbad Decrees; the police measures flourished; the theologian, de Wette, for having addressed to the mother of the murderer Sand a consolatory letter, was deprived of his professorship. Even the call to the ministry of Wilhelm von Humboldt (Fig. 3), mainly the work of the excellent Adjutant General von Witzleben, in consequence of which there would be committed to him, first, the af-

fairs of the several Prussian states and the negotiations with their chambers, did not fulfil cherished hopes; for the personal enmity between him and the Prussian chancellor only increased the collisions and disputes within the circle of the government. Both were then elaborating simultaneously, but independently of each other, the outlines of the future constitution. Had they succeeded in clothing these skeletons with bodies and with life, the Prussian state would probably have passed out from provincial forms into the paths of constitutional development. But with the Karlsbad Decrees Har-

denberg had caused this way to be effectually closed. Every day the reaction gained strength in Berlin. A difference of opinion between the king and the war-minister, von Boyen, respecting the reorganization of the landwehr, led shortly to the retirement of the latter, and also of General von Grolman. On December 31 this was followed by the dismissal of the ministers von Beyme and von Humboldt.

It was by means of the equivocal alliance with the reaction that Hardenberg had maintained the ground, but he was not for that reason the less determined to accomplish the work of reform. The most urgent matter of all was the regulation of the state-indebtedness, for which purpose he found in Minister von Rother a very able assistant. The memorable ordinance of January 17, 1820, put the interest-bearing debt of the state at 180,000,000 thalers; and in order to be free to adopt the most needful measures, the amount of the state's obligations issued was put too high by nearly 60,000,000. Every year the administration of the debt had to hand in a report to the diet of the kingdom, but provisionally to the council of state. The ordinance went further: "but should the best good of all demand a new loan, this can be made only with the aid and joint obligation of a future assembly composed of the provincial diets." This certainly rendered the most rigid economy necessary for the state. Commerce was reorganized; the bank, which had hopelessly declined, was made strong under the sagacious management of von Fries; at the same time the king ordered the publication of the budget for the three entire years, and in spite of the opposing efforts of the reactionary party, approved the new tax-law, which meant an increase of taxes to the amount of 5,000,000 thalers. There was still lacking only the constitution. Difficulties existed with regard to it; and they were manifested in considering the first principles of a constitution, of the regulation of the commune and the circle,—such as the vast multiplicity of local rights in various towns, the great diversity between the circumstances of the eastern and the western provinces; but these would not have been insuperable had there been good will on all sides. The opponents of the constitution availed themselves of Hardenberg's absence during the congress at Laibach, in order to effect the rejection of all the projects thus far, and the summoning of a new, the fifth, commission, under the presidency of the crown-prince (Fig. 4), who hated Hardenberg's ideas, and despised his conduct. A fortunate event, the death of the chancellor, occurring at Geneva on November 26, 1822, anticipated his dismissal.



FIG. 4. — Frederick William, Crown-Prince of Prussia. From a copper-plate engraving, 1838, by Friedrich Eduard Eichens (1804–1877).



With this event the last consideration vanished. The extreme reaction would now preferably have returned to the conditions that existed before the year 1807. But as yet the king could not be induced to destroy the very greatest achievement of his government. The law of June 5, 1823, established provincial diets as the legitimate organs of the different estates, of the nobles, the burgher, and the peasant orders in each province. After the death of the minister von Voss, which soon occurred, Witzleben made ineffectual attempts to bring Wilhelm von Humboldt into the ministry again; and as no other man of the requisite weight was at hand, the king concluded to rule henceforth without a leading statesman, but through routine ministers.

The scientific gospel of the reaction was the "Restoration of the Political Sciences," by K. L. von Haller, which appeared about the year 1816. Its doctrine, that the ruler's power is no other than that of the head of the family, or the lord of the soil, that the nobility, also, are not a human creation, but a necessary product of nature, and responsible only to the ruler as he is to God; that therefore the state consists of orders which, when convened, represent themselves only and not the people, — prevailed for years in Prussia as the real panacea for all political diseases, and was especially embraced with genuine enthusiasm by the crown-prince. Hegel (Fig. 5), who, in 1818, was called to Berlin to fill the professor's chair, vacant since Fichte's death (January 27, 1814), plainly presented, in the introductory discourse to his "Philosophy of Law," a scientifically constructed justification of the prevailing political system, and for that reason was hailed as the special philosopher of the reaction. The rich multiform life, however, which the crown-prince hoped to see blossoming from the provincial diets, did not appear. From these bodies, endowed only with scanty powers, in which the noble utterly suppressed the burgher element, people turned away with contempt. But the feudal party cherished only the one thought, how might it profit by its victory even in the smallest particulars. Although in Prussia itself revolutionary symptoms were nowhere observable, men of spotless, blameless character, and of the purest patriotism, fell under malicious suspicion and the basest espionage. Schleiermacher's sermons, the pieces in the hymn-book which he caused to be sung, were watched by the police. The censorship, rendered more severe from 1819, prohibited a new edition of Fichte's "Discourses to the German Nation." Inasmuch as they did not ven-



ture upon Baron vom Stein, his friend Arndt paid the penalty for him by the arbitrary prohibition issued against his delivering lectures, and

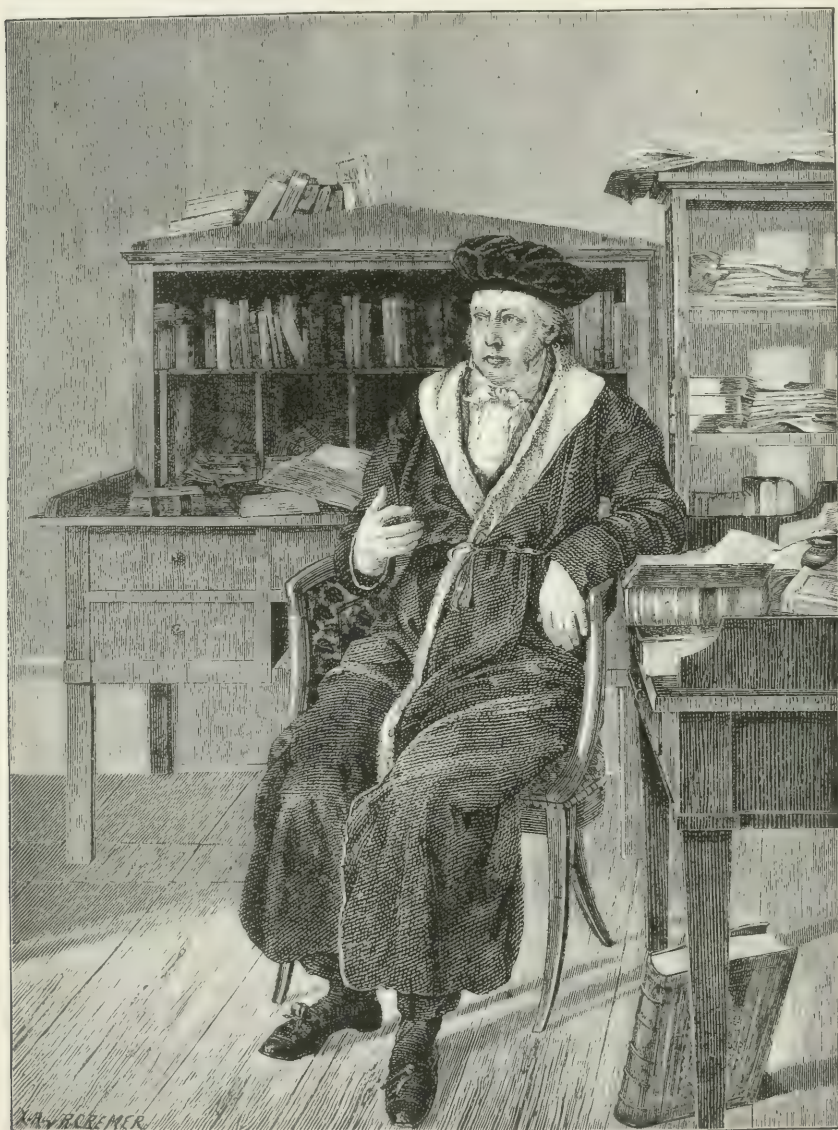


FIG. 5. — Hegel in his study. From the painting by L. Sebbers.

by a vexatious trial. Friedrich Jahn (Fig. 6), although acquitted in the court of second instance, was not at liberty to take up his residence either at the seat of a university or gymnasium. It was pre-

cisely the shame with which the most honorable and capable officers withdrew from this foul procedure of the police that delivered the examinations as to the plots of demagogues into the hands of less scrupulous time-servers, who recoiled before no odium and no violation of law. By the non-fulfilment of the royal promise of a constitution, as well as by the wild rage of persecution directed principally against the high schools, the jewels of the nation, Prussia's reputation in Germany suffered as severely as Metternich could ever have desired. With malicious cunning he had given over the presidency of the Mayence central commission of inquiry to Prussia, in order to unload upon her the odium that attached to this body. The government of Bavaria forbade its courts to give effect to the citations of the commission, and no Prussian subject was given up to it. Since for every state the degree of punishment for its members remained under its own control, the great diversity of penalties for one and the same offence, in the different states of the Confederation, necessarily shocked profoundly the moral sense. The relation between governments and subjects was absolutely poisoned.

To the superficial observer the Karlsbad and Vienna decrees, the universal campaign against German liberalism, the degradation of Prussia in becoming the bailiff of the reaction, seemed to be so many triumphs of Metternich. But keen observers, even among Austrian statesmen, were not deceived with regard to the barrenness of these laurels. They perceived how this policy generated only distrust on the part of the governments, and discontent and hatred among the

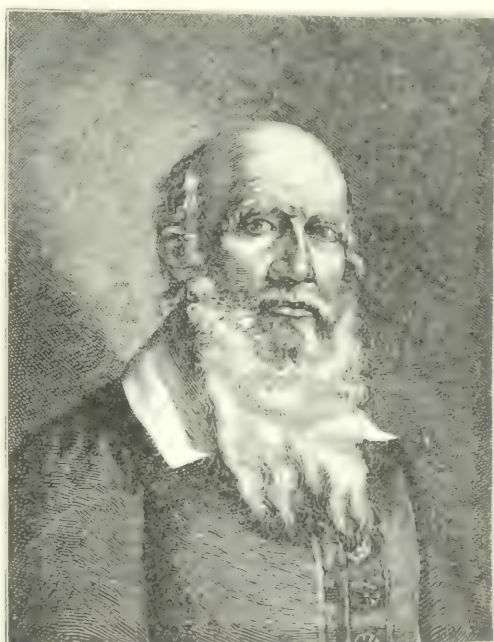


FIG. 6. — Friedrich Ludwig Jahn. From the lithograph by Eugène Delacroix, made in 1846.

population of Germany ; and they saw with concern the most urgent internal reforms brought as a sacrifice to the phantom of obtaining the dominant influence in Germany. To the antagonism against Russia this policy of Metternich only supplied fresh nutriment. The two were brought together again by events occurring in southern Europe.

## CHAPTER II

### FERMENT AND REVOLUTIONS IN THE ROMANCE STATES OF SOUTHERN EUROPE.

AS formerly the rising against Napoleon's supremacy, maintained by force, took its origin in the extreme southwest part of Europe, in like manner it was now again the peninsula of the Pyrenees out of which came the impulsion to a series of revolutionary agitations which were fraught with far-reaching results.

In deep disorder the Spanish people had come out of the warfare with Napoleon. This war had utterly destroyed the old conditions; but the great mass of the people, who were not elevated, ennobled, and purified, but brutalized, inured to blood and vengeance, were left as coarse as ever before. For putting in practice the constitution of 1812, which a band of liberal theorizers had thought out, all preparation in truth was wanting. And to this people, in need of the most judicious education, an envious fate had assigned, in the person of Ferdinand VII., the most worthless and contemptible prince that ever disgraced a throne. The exuberant rejoicing with which he was received on returning home from his six years' imprisonment found no response in his heart, which boiled over with hate at the limitations of absolute power favored by the Cortes. On May 4 he declared the constitution abolished. The old abuses were again restored, the suppressed cloisters reopened, all publications without the official imprimatur were prohibited. In less than two years the dungeons of the re-established Inquisition were filled with 50,000 prisoners. Of the thirty-three incarcerated members of the Cortes the king affixed to every individual an arbitrary punishment, up to eight years of imprisonment. The first attempts at a rising in Catalonia under Mina, in Corunna under Porlier, both of them famous leaders in the war of independence, failed in consequence of the indifference of the population. The former fled across the frontier, the latter ended his life on the gallows.

All foreign powers were of one mind in disapproving of a management of affairs as shameless as it was absurd, but it was difficult



to arrest it without the application of force. And in Madrid, also, England and Russia met as rivals. While Tatitcheff, the Russian envoy, in conjunction with the young and prudent queen Maria Isabella, was effecting the summons of José Pizarro to the head of the government, October, 1816, and therewith the return to some degree of reason, the British cabinet saw its counsels and influence spurned with insulting arrogance. This arrogance, that still thought Spain a great power, stood in pitiable contrast with the weakness of the state, which was no longer able to hold its transatlantic colonial possessions. Even into those hermetically closed territories, anxiously guarded as they had been since the Bourbons possessed the Spanish throne, a new age had now penetrated. The thought of independence took root in the colonies, which were virtually left to themselves during the Napoleonic wars. In the year 1810, when with the flight of the Central Junta to Cadiz matters were hopeless in the mother country, the Creoles of Caracas made a beginning; and in that place, on July 5, the Congress proclaimed the independence of Venezuela, "the first-born of South American freedom." Buenos Ayres, New Granada, and Chile followed; in Mexico the curates Hidalgo and Morelos led the wild Indians into a horrible struggle with the Spaniards; Doctor Francia gained possession of the dictatorship in Paraguay, and kept that country isolated and rigorously excluded from the outer world until his death in 1840. The Spanish authorities, however, succeeded in Peru, on receiving intelligence of the return of Ferdinand VII., in almost entirely subduing the insurrection for the time. Simon Bolivar, 'the Liberator,' was obliged to flee to foreign parts. Thereupon in Madrid the matter was regarded as set at rest. That an absolute restoration of the old condition in the colonies was not to be thought of, Spanish short-sightedness did not apprehend. The struggle was hardly quieted when the old system of rapine commenced anew. Consequently the insurrection soon broke out again, and now the crisis had arrived in which it found encouragement also from abroad, — from the United States, to whom the continuance of Spanish rule in Central and South America was altogether undesirable, and more emphatically from England, who, excited and angered by the suppression of her influence at Madrid, was disposed to promote the independence of the Spanish colonies. Lastly, there was encouragement also on the part of Portugal.

This state found itself after Napoleon's downfall in a situation

that was absolutely unnatural. While the court was still lingering in Brazil, Portugal was ruled by a regency, in fact by Lord Beresford, the commander-in-chief of the army, and had sunken to the position of a subordinate country. A longer absence of the dynasty might cause the country to be lost to Spain, which had long coveted it, while the return of the royal family threatened the rending away of Brazil. Between Portugal small and poor, and Brazil great and rich, between British vassalage at Lisbon, and independence at Rio Janeiro, the choice could not be difficult for King John VI. Doubtless the interest of both states, Spain as well as Portugal, had demanded a friendly and harmonious relationship. Spain needed the support of Brazil to retain her colonies, and not less was the court of Rio obliged to lean upon Spain in order to do away with English commercial ascendancy. Instead of this, both became hostile. Spain refused to give up Olivenza, which the Congress of Vienna had awarded to Portugal: and Portugal seized upon the Banda Oriental (Uruguay) together with Montevideo, the only harbor on the La Plata accessible for ships of war, and thus afforded powerful aid to the insurrection which then burst forth on all sides. The Chileans, under the leadership of San Martin and O'Higgins, maintained their independence, aided by the small fleet which Lord Cochran had collected. In Venezuela for the third time Bolivar raised the standard of freedom, and gained a footing, although at first he met with some misfortunes on the River Orinoco. Clothed by the congress with supreme power, after this he crossed the Andes in a daring march, and proclaimed at Bogota the union of Venezuela and New Granada to the republic of Colombia. This unfortunate turn of affairs forced the Spanish government to understand that without the good will of the mistress of the seas nothing could be accomplished against the colonies. On September 17, 1817, Spain concluded with England a treaty opening Spanish colonies to English commerce, and for a compensation of £400,000 promised to abolish the slave-trade in all her territories.

After the early death of the Queen Isabella, a complete dissolution of the administration prevailed. The small minority of Liberals, in the absence of every other means of protection, grasped at the weapon of conspiracy; and the baseness of the government gained them adherents, even in the highest ranks of official and military life. Finally, the concentration at Cadiz of an expedition destined for America gathered at one point many discontented elements of

the army that were previously scattered about. The treachery of General Abisbal did indeed delay the outbreak, but did not defeat it; a new conspiracy was formed under Colonel Quiroga. On New Year's Day, 1820, the standard of insurrection was raised by Colonel Riego, a mind zealous but confused, very passionate, of little cultivation, and measureless vanity. He proclaimed the constitution of 1812, and at the same time Quiroga took possession of the Isla de Leon. However, this rising would also have proved a failure, had it not been for the boundless incapacity and baseness of the Madrid government, which encouraged secret societies elsewhere to imitate Riego's example. The worthless Abisbal sought to compensate for his treachery to his comrades by treachery to the government, and with the re-enforcements which he should have led to Andalusia joined the insurrection. Mina, hastening down from France, placed himself at the head of the junta of Pamplona. Then the courage of the king and the father confessors failed. When no other hypocrisy could serve any longer, the alarmed monarch subscribed, on the night of March 8, the solemn pledge to swear to the constitution of 1812; the Liberals, Arguelles and Herreros, both of whom were delivered by the revolution from African prisons, became ministers, Riego and Quiroga, field-m Marshals. The country was intoxicated with rapture and pride over the easy victory. Solemnly and with well acted integrity the king repeated his oath to the constitution in the presence of the Cortes, which opened on July 9. The hope of a better future began to dawn, and this was the more evident because at the same time the liberal principle was attaining supremacy in the adjoining country of Portugal. There, likewise, national pride, violated by the despotic government of a foreigner, had engendered a conspiracy which, despite the Draconian rigor with which Lord Beresford punished the first attempt, discovered in 1817, arose again, and in August, 1820, at Oporto, under the leadership of Colonel Sepulveda, broke out in open insurrection. The regency were compelled to retire: and King John VI. obeyed the demand for his return made by the Cortes, summoned agreeably to the Spanish constitution, and sent back his eldest son Dom Pedro to Rio de Janeiro as regent. Before landing he took the oath to the constitution which was just completed.

But it was not the irresistible expression of the Spanish nation; it was only the cowardice of the king, the wretchedness and weakness of the government, which secured victory to the threatened

rising of an evanescent minority. The mass of the people remained passive spectators, and at first were inflamed only by artificial means to enthusiasm for the constitution of 1812. The decree of the Cortes for the suppression of the order of the Jesuits and of the monasteries, with the exception of those belonging to the mendicant friars, the restriction of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the prohibition of plural prebends, as well as of the acquisition of landed property by mortmain, gave the signal for renewing the conflict. Arguelles succumbed to the intrigues woven about him. His successor, Martinez de la Rosa, endeavored with energy but in vain to maintain the authority of the government against the growing anarchy. In different places guerillas arose in the name of religion and the absolute king. In Castile, Father Merino assembled an 'army of faith;' the insurgents seized the fortresses of Gerona and Seo d'Urgel. The Trappist Antonio Marañon and other priests and monks marched at the head of bands, the crucifix in one hand and a sabre or whip in the other; the numerous monasteries proffered them shelter and assistance; men, boys, old men, armed with scythes and knives, flocked to them as to a crusade. The progress of the insurgents filled the perverted soul of the king with fresh hope of regaining absolute power by a *coup d'état*. But two attempts, undertaken with the help of the guards, miscarried, the rising in Catalonia was also put down by Mina, and the regency which had installed itself in Seo d'Urgel was forced to fly across the frontier.

After the failure of all attempts to free himself with his own resources, Ferdinand VII. found his only remaining hope to be in foreign aid. In vain had he already turned several times to Louis XVIII., seeking help secretly. But now the general European situation was taking such a shape as promised to procure for his request more favorable audience.

From Spain, sparks of the revolutionary flame had fallen upon Italy.

The Italians, likewise, had joyfully hailed the termination of French supremacy: but their subsequent experience speedily changed this feeling into one entirely different. However severe the sacrifices which Napoleon had demanded of them, he had also conferred on them benefits which, when once possessed, a people never again forgets,—an orderly administration of affairs, legislation suited to the times, civil equality, and, what is more, nationality and military



fame. Besides, at the last hour Murat had summoned them to the conflict in furtherance of the unity of the country. Now they saw themselves robbed of all this: the old petty principalities were again established; the two states in the northeast were placed under the Austrian sceptre. Austrian regulations, the faults of office-holders, and similar things were not calculated to win over the population. Even the clergy, to whom the strong government — on the principles of Joseph II. — over the church was offensive, became anti-Austrian, and promoted the rising national opposition.

In Parma, however, Count Neipperg, who had to console the empress Maria Louisa in her separation from her husband, conducted at least an orderly administration; in Tuscany the Archduke Ferdinand not without intelligence adhered to the material reforms of his father, Leopold; but everywhere else the most dissolute reaction obtained admission. In the States of the Church, with the return of Pope Pius VII., the old loose rule of priests started up again. In Sardinia, under the good-natured, narrow king, Victor Emmanuel, the calendar of 1798 was taken as the starting-point with respect to officers and the army; commercial business was burdened; scarcely did the bridge over the Po at Turin escape destruction. Naples, where Ferdinand IV. styled himself from this time on as Ferdinand I., “King of the Two Sicilies,” was indeed spared on this occasion a recurrence of the horrible scenes of 1799; but here, too, the most beneficial measures originating under foreign rule disappeared.

All these states Metternich regarded as vassals of Austria. He had not been able at the Congress of Vienna to accomplish the establishment of Austrian influence over the entire peninsula by enlarging the imperial possessions at the expense of the States of the Church and of Sardinia; but he now sought to reach this end by other methods, by special treaties with individual sovereigns, and by creating an Italian confederation, with Milan for its chief place, and an archduke as primate. He took a great step in this direction by a treaty concluded with Naples on June 12, whose main significance lay in two secret articles. In the first, King Ferdinand pledged himself to introduce no constitution, and to suffer no innovations, in opposition to the ancient monarchical regulations or to the principles of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom; in the second, the two pledged themselves mutually to enter into no alliance anywhere of any kind which should be contrary to this treaty, or “to the Italian Confederation.” The idea of the Italian Confederation did not find the same

acceptance with the other states. Sardinia refused, and, encouraged by the Emperor Alexander, persisted in its opposition; so that Metternich, to his deep annoyance, was compelled, if not to renounce, at least to postpone, his plan.

The Italians felt that foreign rule was the source of all national sufferings. Literature was the channel in which national ideas first flowed. The survey of that which the nation had previously endured, not without its own fault, led thinking minds to a conviction of the need of an inward regeneration for their people, if they were to become elevated and sound politically. Manzoni became the head of the Italian romantic school, which, itself trained by the study of English and German literature, now stepped forth to educate the nation to an intellectual independence.

These endeavors fell upon fruitful soil in the high classes of society; but the great mass of the people, destitute of all school instruction, continued in stupid indifference. Consequently a deep chasm was disclosed in the nation, and the combatants for independence and freedom lacked the strong support of public opinion. Instead of this, the undermining action of the secret societies was exerted; and in the eagerness for conspiracy lying in the Italian blood, this activity found a soil already prepared. And if, as it seemed, the first impulse to this organization of secret bands came from without, from the Masonic lodges of charcoal-sellers in Eastern France, or from Switzerland, yet its character was changed on the other side of the Alps. After the fulness of action and the sweetness of military fame achieved in other days, the officers were rendered, by the inactivity to which they were now condemned, peculiarly accessible, through their unsatisfied ambition, to secret agitations. The association of the Carbonari spread rapidly through the entire peninsula. The political aims of this body were in many respects indiscreet and impure, and they differed in different places; but inasmuch as the miserable governments were unable to protect themselves in any other way, on their side also, secret leagues, political or even religious, were formed, as the *Calderari*, the *Ferdinanese*, the *Sanfedists*, and others, and these gave to the machinery of the secret police the utmost possible completeness; thus from both directions the destructive poison pressed its way into the nation.

In a region so thoroughly prepared, the intelligence that Riego had risen in arms was rapidly diffused. The insurrection appeared first at Naples. On July 2 two lieutenants, Morelli and Silvati,

gave the signal at Nola of a military revolution; and in a short time it embraced the other troops. In the night of July 6 a few Carbonari repaired to the royal palace, and giving two hours for reflection demanded in the name of the army, of the citizens, and of the secret society, the Spanish constitution of 1812. After fruitless evasion the old king was obliged to consent that he would swear to observe it. Moving at the head of the insurrectionary troops, General Pepe made his triumphal entrance into Naples, amid the unbounded rejoicings of the people, although possibly no man in the whole city knew what was contained in that constitution. These proceedings wakened a powerful echo in Sicily. Palermo rose, and the island was consequently placed under a kind of military dictatorship; but the government thus deprived itself of free control over a considerable part of its troops, which it would soon need to employ elsewhere.

The Revolution, it was clearly enough announced by the most recent occurrences, was not dead. In France anxious minds feared every day the outbreak of a new convulsion. The well-nigh simultaneous demonstrations of English laborers, and the frenzied plot of a certain Thistlewood against the life of the minister, gave room for apprehension lest the edifice of the English state, regarded as immovable, might also be assailed by the demon of revolution. In these events the Emperor Alexander saw a confirmation of his belief that the Holy Alliance ought to be enlarged to secure in general the internal as well as external condition of all the states. But here as elsewhere well-sounding theories as soon as they were to be put in practice ended in smoke. Nowhere, indeed, did the Russian proposal meet with approval.

But now the revolution broke out in Naples. Metternich was completely surprised by it. Just before, Prince Ruffo, the representative of King Ferdinand, had assured him that the mere word constitution sufficed to throw his master into convulsions, and now he had taken the oath to the constitution: and in Naples a parliament was sitting, a focus of infection for the other Italian states, and incompatible with the peace of Lombardo-Venetia. King Ferdinand, while exhausting himself publicly in protestations of adherence to the constitution, in secret called for the help of Austria against his subjects, and directed his accredited envoys at the Vatican to protest against all that he had done under compulsion, or

should do in the future. The same Metternich, who shortly before had so coolly refused the Russian proposal of intervention, was now all fire and flame for an Austrian intervention at Naples. But he talked to deaf ears. Castlereagh alone assented in a conditional way. Russia and France desired as little now as formerly to deliver over the entire peninsula into a condition of dependence on Austria. Louis XVIII., on the contrary, proposed, in his capacity as head of the Bourbon family, a general congress which should undertake the restoration of order in Naples. Metternich's desire to restrict the congress to a personal meeting of the two emperors was not indeed fulfilled; and the general congress was persisted in, but in effect he attained his object.

For at Troppau, where the congress was in session from October 23 to December 24, 1820, besides the two emperors only the king of Prussia was present in person, and he held himself apart, as was his custom. Thus it happened that Russia and Austria were alone in giving a decisive direction. Metternich claimed for Austria the right of armed intervention. Alexander, on the other hand, advised by Capo d'Istria, desired joint European action, and before the application of force the attempt to use conciliatory means; and he favored the establishment of constitutional regulations in Naples. But the intelligence now came to Alexander of the mutiny of a regiment of the guards at St. Petersburg. Although this was caused only by the merciless severity of the colonel, and had not the slightest political character, it yet offered to Metternich an excellent means of displacing Capo d'Istria with the czar; and he endeavored to convert the incident into a symptom of the solidarity of the revolutionary movements throughout Europe. He knew how to persuade the czar that in order to establish the great European system permanently, Russia, Austria, and Prussia must first of all, unimpeded by the foreign interests of England and France, agree with one another. In accordance with the views explained by him, the protocol of the three powers was issued on November 19, 1820, in which they set forth the declaration: "The allied powers pledge themselves to refuse recognition to illegal reforms. In order to bring back into the bosom of the alliance states affected in that manner, they will maintain friendly proceedings toward such at first, but in case of necessity will employ forcible measures. This course is to be followed in reference to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies."

The astonished representatives of England and France, the latter



ambiguously and irresolutely, the former frankly, rejected this principle of intervention and of mutual guaranty. By it an entirely new international law was created, a court of Areopagus erected, which would be for all Europe what the diet of the Confederation promised to become for Germany by means of the Karlsbad Decrees, a kind of international police, which would abolish the independence of the individual states, and render their development impossible. Metternich caused an invitation to be issued to the king of Naples to come to them at Laibach, where they had convened a new congress for January, 1821, in order there to make application to Naples of the propositions set forth at Troppau.

In that country the announcement of the approaching interference of the great powers produced intense excitement. The king, who had but one thought, — to escape, — promised the constitutionalists whatever was desired of him, in order to obtain permission for his departure; and the parliament was simple enough to give him their confidence to such an extent even as to decline sending with him four deputies, which he had asked. The prince of Calabria, as regent in his absence, was required to continue playing the game of falsehood and deceit. Adorned with the colors of the Carbonari, the king boarded the vessel; but he had scarcely felt at Leghorn foreign soil under his feet when he rejoiced aloud at having run away from his assassins. Since the determination of the powers was irrevocable, the king declared that he submitted himself to it. From the Neapolitan government the powers now required the suppression of the constitution, and the occupation of the territory for three years by an Austrian army. The parliament determined to offer resistance. Colletta, the minister of war, made preparations, a martial spirit pervaded the people; but the army was not able, either in the number and quality of the troops, or in the ability of the leaders, to cope with the Austrians. The Austrian army marched forward under Frimont; and at the first onset, on March 7, near Rieti, Pepe's men dispersed. On the 9th the strong position of Androdoco was taken by storm, and the guard declared in favor of the absolute king. The parliament was obliged to dissolve before the advancing Austrians, and the heads of the constitutional party escaped to foreign parts.

The insurrection at Naples and the outbreak of the war had also aroused the activity of the Carbonari in Sardinia. They had drawn Prince Charles Albert of Carignan into the secret society; and he

was the next heir to the throne after the death of the king and of his childless brother, Charles Felix. Without being able to come to a decision, he had indeed entered apparently into their views; but he sought to put a stop to the affair when it could no longer be maintained. Three days before the overthrow of the Neapolitans, on March 10, the regiment of Genoa at Alessandria gave the signal for insurrection. Other garrisons followed, and Count Santa Rosa formed a provisional government. But from that time the movement stagnated. The prince of Carignan thereupon advised the king to abdicate, and name him regent for his successor, Charles Felix. The new occupant of the throne, a bitter enemy of all liberal principles, declared the change of constitution invalid, and sent the prince, until further orders, to his father-in-law in Florence. The little band of insurgents under Colonel Regis, on April 8, succumbed at Novara to the Austrians under Bubna, but not without a brave resistance.

The congress of Laibach, at first in great anxiety, breathed again. In a declaration it announced to the world its deliberations, guided by righteousness and disinterested benevolence, and directed to the maintenance of the independence of every state. Then the congress separated with the agreement to meet again in the spring of the next year, in order to consider how far the circumstances of Italy would permit a modification of the measures adopted.

At that time Metternich stood at the pinnacle of his power. He was indeed the minister of Europe, and princes and statesmen listened devoutly to the words that fell from his lips. The appointment to the office of state chancellor rewarded the splendid result of his policy. With unbounded pride he was conscious that he had charmed the Emperor Alexander to enter fully within his magic circle. To the dominating position which he had attained, there was now to be added the far more complete supremacy over Italy. Iron force held Lombardy and Venice in obedience. The poet Silvio Pellico was pardoned on the scaffold to dwell in the dungeon of Spielberg, where he lay till the revolution of July opened his prison. In Naples a furious reaction raged for six years, under the protection of Austrian bayonets. According to Colletta, in 1822 eight thousand Liberals suffered death, many of them tortured by the rack. In the States of the Church, after the death of Pius VII. (August 20, 1823), Consalvi's violent opponent, della Genga, was chosen as Pope Leo XII. His successor, Pius VIII. (March 31,

1829, to November 30, 1830), punished with death membership in secret societies. In Sardinia comparatively mild measures prevailed. The present time now appeared to Metternich (PLATE II.) appropriate for recurring to his favorite idea of an Italian confederation; but the greater part of the princes of the peninsula, and no one more vehemently than the pope, showed themselves now, as formerly, outspoken adversaries of any arrangement that should become to Austria a means of interference in their internal affairs. But in the hearts of the Italians there dwelt an inextinguishable hatred of the state which had made itself the executioner of their liberty and the protector of their petty tyrants.

The intervention in Italy, completed with such ease, brought home the thought of repeating the experiment in Spain. The king of Naples gave the courts of Paris, Vienna, and St. Petersburg to understand that his nephew, the king of Spain, had begged him in confidence to call for their aid to deliver him also out of prison.

The only one with whom this appeal for help found at the very outset a favorable hearing was the Emperor Alexander, who had expressed at Troppau the wish that France might undertake toward Spain the same beautiful rôle which Austria had assumed with respect to Naples. There now seized upon him a fanatical zeal for a general European campaign against Jacobinism in Spain. He saw the day already quietly approaching when Russia, by means of the league with Bourbon France and with Spain (about to become Bourbon again) would succeed in breaking England's maritime ascendancy. The congress that met according to agreement in the autumn of 1822 at Verona, afforded the most favorable occasion for placing this question upon the order for the day. Much more coolly did Metternich conduct himself in reference to this matter. But now Montmorency and Châteaubriand, the representatives of France at Verona, spoke a language which gave a wholly different turn to the affair. For the French Ultras, beside themselves on account of the failure of Ferdinand, longed for nothing more ardently than to put an end by French arms to the radical terrorism in Madrid. The vain Châteaubriand, poet and declaimer, who had suddenly turned into a statesman, importuned the minister Villèle not to suffer the slipping away of the solitary opportunity in which France might again be lifted into the ranks of military powers, and the white cockade be rehabilitated in a war that would be brief and almost



PLATE II.



Prince Metternich.

*Portrait presented at all prices, by W. Thackeray, painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence (in the possession of the State-Chancellor Prince Richard Metternich-Winneburg).*

*Howe, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.*





without danger. Upon the question whether in the event of recalling her ambassador from Madrid the other powers would do so likewise ; whether, in case of war with Spain, France could rely upon the moral and material aid of the allies, Alexander declared himself ready at once to advance into France with 150,000 men if the Jacobins there should attempt to take advantage of the absence of the army. He would also, on demand, go into Spain. Metternich assented with reserve ; and still more cautiously Count Bernstorff, in the name of Prussia, whose king had little desire to impose on his people a sacrifice in furtherance of foreign interests ; Wellington refused shortly and roughly. Without giving additional consideration to English opposition, the four other Powers agreed upon their further proceedings. Circumstances in Spain had assumed such a form that no immediate danger threatened the throne or the royal family, and there was consequently no urgent occasion for intervention. But for the French Ultras this had become a question of domestic politics, and to them the restoration of absolute government in Spain seemed a crusade against liberalism in their own land. The reply of the Spanish premier San Miguel, to the despatches of the Eastern Powers, conveyed a categorical refusal ; and the ambassadors immediately demanded their passports.

Amid applause of the Right bordering on frenzy, the French king, Louis XVIII., announced at the opening of the chambers on January 23, 1823, that 100,000 Frenchmen under the duke of Angoulême stood ready, at the call of the God of St. Louis, to maintain the Spanish throne for a descendant of Henry IV. Absolutely confident as the government appeared, it did not go to war with pleasant anticipations ; for the bad spirit prevailing in the army was not unknown to it. Great doubt was felt as to the manner in which the soldiers would stand trial, and the activity of the secret societies among the troops was notorious. When the army arrived at the Bidassoa, there appeared on the opposite shore a band of French and Italian refugees, decked out with imperial uniforms and cockades ; but a shot or two sufficed to scatter them. Angoulême crossed the boundary river with 60,000 men, and 30,000 under Marshal Mortier pressed forward into Catalonia. Their reception was different from that formerly given to Napoleon's legions, and they were treated in a friendly manner by the population. The bearing of the Spanish revolutionists in the presence of this invasion was beyond all expression contemptible. Mina alone did his duty in Catalonia, till he

also, when all was lost, capitulated at Barcelona on the first of November. Before even a French soldier had trodden the soil of Spain, it was decided to transfer the royal residence to Seville; but the king, who was looking with longing for his deliverers, refused to go. He was obliged, however, to consent to leave. Universally, wherever Angoulême appeared, the constitutional forces broke down at once. When Ferdinand sought a second time to leave Seville, he was treated by the Cortes as mentally disordered, and placed under a regency: and not till his arrival in Cadiz did he regain the appearance of himself governing. After investing the city for three months, the French succeeded, in the night of August 31, in gaining possession of the Trocadero (PLATE III.). The Cortes communicated to the king permission to repair to the French camp in order to obtain there the most favorable conditions possible. Thereupon the soldiers and people sent him forth, he pledging ‘voluntarily’ his royal word for a general and complete amnesty and the acknowledgment of the constitution. Scarcely safe in the French camp he annulled all the measures of the ‘so-called’ constitutional government, condemned the members of the regency to the gallows, and appointed the confessor Saez provisional minister-general. Thereupon a reaction of unexampled fury and madness broke forth over this unhappy land. Like hungry wolves, masses of the people, let loose and filled with a thirst for vengeance, blood, and plunder, hurled themselves, under the lead of priests and monks, upon all that was reputed liberal. All suppressed abuses were again restored; and the savage chiefs of the army of faith, the dregs of the population, stepped into the pay of the state under the name of ‘royal volunteers’: and, as such, for ten years they scourged the land by fearful excesses and in the service of the wildest fanaticism. Unable to stem the stream, Angoulême returned to France. If Ferdinand afterwards drew the reins somewhat upon the ‘Apostolics,’ it seemed to be only because their ascendancy had begun to be burdensome to him. It being no secret to him that the Apostolics were directing their eyes to his brother, the Infant Don Carlos, he sought by a dexterous balancing of parties to keep this dangerous element amiable.

The fall of the Spanish constitution drew after it that of the Portuguese: since the Infant Dom Miguel, in concert with his mother Carlotta, the wicked sister of Ferdinand VII., raised the standard of revolt. The troops turned to him, and proclaimed him



The Taking of the Trocadero at Cádiz by the Duke of Angoulême on August 31, 1823.

From a steel engraving by Delaunay - original painting by Paul Delaunay. (Versailles, Historical Gallery.)

*History of the British Army, Vol. XXII, Part II.*





absolute king. The feeble John VI. submitted to the chance of the constitution, the Cortes was dissolved, and Dom Miguel was appointed generalissimo. Worse reaction was prevented by England,

Such was the work in which the statesmen of the Holy Alliance dared to glory. The victory of absolutism was decisive throughout the entire continent. King Ferdinand VII. conceived the thought, in consequence of this result, of securing the subjection of the revolted colonies by a general action of the European powers. And to these also the victory appeared not to be complete, as long as the passing over of a republican spirit from Spanish America to Europe continued to be an object to be feared. When, however, the Holy Alliance lifted up its hand and aimed a stroke at the colonies also, the sword shivered in its grasp. Metternich and his confidant, Gentz, very readily became intoxicated at the results of their Tropau and Laibach; but the price paid for them was nothing less than the shattering of the great alliance. That proclamation of an absolutism, resting upon a divine right, must infallibly lead to opposition between the absolutist powers of the east, from whom it proceeded, and the constitutional states of the west. Even the high Tory, Castlereagh, now Lord Londonderry (Fig. 7), the admirer of Metternich, and his pupil in doctrine, had not failed to oppose a solemn protest to the right of interference announced in the Laibach protocol. Just at this point of time it happened that in an attack of mental aberration Castlereagh cut his throat. The only substitute for him in the Tory party was George Canning. Canning, upon the eve of repairing to his post as governor-general of India, turned about; and thus the direction of England's foreign policy came into the hands of a man who was inaccessible to the doctrines of Metternich. The inadequacy of the British military strength did indeed forbid his opposing the Continental powers with arms in hand; but in order to raise up his country from the profound disesteem into which his predecessors had caused her to sink, this embodiment of Toryism did not hesitate a moment to make use of the great word of the freedom of the people. His first act was roundly to refuse, through Wellington at Vienna, to participate in the Spanish intervention. On the contrary, he caused it to be announced that England would probably find herself compelled, were it only on account of her commercial interests, to acknowledge the independence of the Spanish colonies.

With this declaration was completed the severance of England

from the great alliance. In fact, the independence of the Spanish colonies was already accomplished, from the military weakness and the internal disorder of the mother country, and it could not be annulled. In Mexico, on May 18, 1822, General Iturbide had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor by his army, with the title of



FIG. 7. — Castlereagh. From an engraving by Thomson.

Agustin I. Quito united with the republic of Colombia, of which Bolivar was president. Upper Peru, likewise set free, was named, in his honor, Bolivia. England had the greatest interest not to lose again the ample and rich market opened to her in those regions after the disappearance of Spanish rule. After all warnings to the Spanish

government to come to an understanding with its former subjects had passed by unheeded, and, on the contrary, a report was rising that France had it in contemplation to gain possession of Cuba, Canning informed the government at the Tuileries that England would suffer neither a cession of that territory to another power, nor the employment of foreign troops to effect its subjugation. But Canning was himself conscious, also, that in order to be strong abroad he must have public opinion at home on his side. The commercial body he aroused by a powerful discourse, which, delivered in sight of the dock of Plymouth, resounded throughout Europe. But he did not forget the circumspection rendered obligatory by his greatly imperilled situation. He, therefore, willingly gave precedence to the United States of America, which had hailed the revolt of the Spanish colonies with great applause, and as early as 1819 had extorted from Spain, when hard pressed, the sale of Florida. In a message to the Congress at Washington, on December 2, 1823, President Monroe laid down the proposition, which afterwards became famous as the Monroe Doctrine, that the Union would consider any attempt of the Holy Alliance to extend its system to America as a peril to its peace and its freedom; and that any attempt of a European power to subjugate an American state, whose independence was recognized by the United States, would be considered as an act of hostility directed against itself. When this declaration to the cabinets also failed to produce the expected impression, Canning finally took the decisive step. Before the intelligence had reached Europe, that, since the victory of Bolivar's general, Sucre, over the brave Caserna at Ayacucho, on December 9, 1824, Callao was the only point on the American continent where the Castilian flag still waved, he gave information, on January 1, 1825, to the foreign ambassadors that England had recognized the republics of Buenos Ayres, Colombia, and Mexico.

The weighty character of this event did not lie in the rise of several new American republics. These states, which while wards of Spanish officials had at least prospered materially, showed themselves to be immature and incapable of an independent existence. The great confederated republic fell back quickly into its constituent parts, and its dictator, Bolivar, was compelled to abdicate. The throne of Iturbide was overthrown by a military insurrection in 1823; and in the attempt to regain it, he was seized and shot on July 19, 1824, whereupon Mexico was transformed into a republican federal state. Continually tossed hither and yon between anarchy



and dictatorship, these regions fell into a semi-barbarous condition. The event of the recognition of these republics assumed, then, historical importance only because Canning made use of the fact to call a halt in an imperious tone to the arrogant encroachments of the Holy Alliance, and thereby to re-establish England's lost consideration in the councils of the European powers.

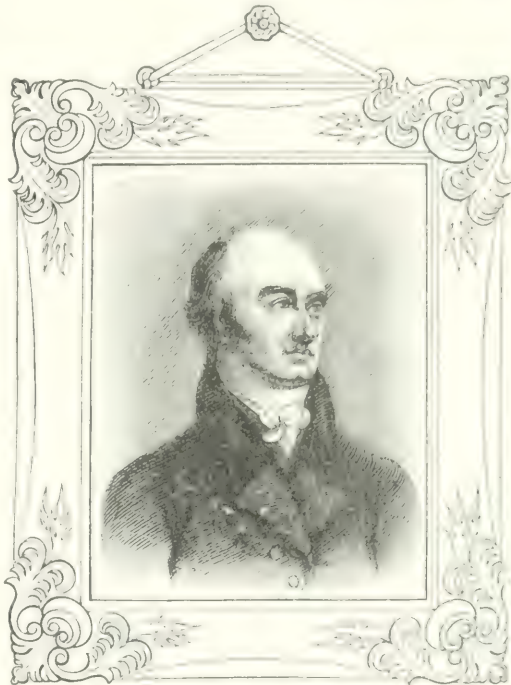
To the first blow another immediately succeeded. In Brazil, which by reason of the long absence of the Portuguese court and the development of a flourishing commerce, had lived on as if an independent kingdom, the pressure for independence became the more urgent, when, on the return of John VI. to Lisbon, the Cortes in that city began to treat Brazil again as a colony. If the Infant Dom Pedro, who had remained behind as regent in Rio Janeiro, did not wish to see the republican party gain the upper hand, and the country become utterly lost to his house, he must of necessity put himself at the head of the new movement. The order for his return to Lisbon he declined to obey; and the constituent assembly summoned by him declared independence, and proclaimed him, October 12, 1822, as constitutional emperor of Brazil. To Canning's very great satisfaction this separation of Brazil secured that market to British commerce. Through the medium of his ambassador, Charles Stuart, a treaty was formed November 15, 1825, by which Portugal acknowledged the independence of Brazil.

The internal disorder that prevailed in the mother-country forbade the attempt to employ greater force in order to hold her colonies. The fanatical and immoral queen Carlotta, in conjunction with her second son, Dom Miguel, and the archbishop of Lisbon, made an attempt on April 30, 1824, to overthrow the minister, who was too moderate for them; but it was defeated. New developments occurred on the death of John VI., March 10, 1826, in consequence of doubts regarding the succession to the throne. Since Dom Pedro was not allowed by the constitution of Brazil to accept a foreign crown, he renounced the succession in Portugal in favor of his daughter, Maria da Gloria, seven years of age, and made the grant of a constitution. In order to open the way for conciliation he contracted her to his brother Miguel, to the displeasure of the reactionary party, and also of the absolutist court, who with alarm saw the spectre of a constitution rising again. The boldness with which the Spanish court, befooled by Metternich, gave help to Portuguese insurgents in *Tras-os-Montes*, showed at what it was aiming.

But Canning (Fig. 8), although broken by age and ill health, was not the man to suffer the gauntlet to lie when once thrown down. After vainly endeavoring to obtain the co-operation of France, he announced on December 12, 1826, to the Lower House, which had become uneasy with regard to the maintenance of the national honor, the decision of the government to comply with the appeal for aid from the powerless government at Lisbon. He cautioned the absolutist courts against a war which might constrain England to unchain the winds, like *Aeolus*, and to gather the discontented of all lands around her banner. With elevated voice and outstretched arm, his eye directed to the tribunes where the representatives of the Great Powers were sitting, he proceeded: "We are about to plant the flag of England upon the well-known heights of Lisbon; wherever this flag waves, there shall no foreign rule come!" With purposed ostentation the English fleet cast anchor at the mouth

of the Tagus at the close of 1826, and promptly aided in bringing to naught the irruption of the insurgents.

Without war, sustained only by public opinion at home and abroad, Canning had restored England's consideration to as proud a place as it had ever maintained. With futile hate the European reaction stood against him, and its members were paralyzed by terror at the threat of a revolution among their own subjects. Villèle immediately brought King Ferdinand VII. to reason so far that he ordered the Portuguese insurgents to be disarmed, and suppressed



GEORGE CANNING.

FIG. 8. — Canning. From a steel engraving by Freeman.

a fresh rising of the Apostolicals in Catalonia. Everywhere the friends of freedom took courage again, and a reviving breath from Canning's words and deeds penetrated the stifling atmosphere of the Holy Alliance. In Portugal it is true that political liberty, as in all these Romance countries, was to such an extent without root that the death of its powerful protector sufficed to overthrow it again. Relieved of his dreaded adversary, Metternich in consequence hoped the insecure existing conditions could be made permanent, so that Dom Miguel actually entered upon the regency coming to him on reaching his twenty-fifth year. But so far removed from Metternich was the purpose to evoke a violent conflict, that, on his suggestion, the Infant was constrained to take oath to the constitution, and announce publicly the betrothal to his niece. But he had chosen his instrument badly. The Infant Dom Miguel, a rough man, brought up with the ordinary propensities, and in utter ignorance, was hardly in possession of power when, assured of the approval of the fanatical mass of the people, he sent the Cortes to their homes, and as soon as the English had withdrawn, on May 3, 1828, abolished the constitution. A rising of the Constitutionalists in Oporto was quickly suppressed; only Madeira and the Azores remained faithful to Queen Maria, who was already on her way. Upon intelligence of these events her attendants took her to England, but the royal child no longer found a Canning there. Violent exertion had exhausted the remaining vital force of the great statesman; and at the moment when the eyes of all Europe were turned to him he expired, August 8, 1827. His successor, Wellington, had no purpose of drawing the sword in defence of the Portuguese constitution. On the other hand, the Continental powers took good heed not to acknowledge the usurper Dom Miguel, but they also did nothing; and thus the barbarous man was able, for six long years, to keep up a vengeful, bloodthirsty, and tyrannical government, which excited the detestation of the civilized world. Likely to perish speedily as constitutional institutions had shown themselves in these Romance countries, yet the conflicts occasioned by them aroused once more the slumbering political interest. The principles of legitimacy, in whose name the invasion of Spain had been conducted, had, by Canning's interposition, suffered their first defeat. But the main stroke that shook the edifice of the Holy Alliance came from the south-east, from the Balkan peninsula.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE STRUGGLE OF THE SERVIAN AND THE GREEK FOR LIBERTY.

THE Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century was still precisely the same it had been when the Osmanli invaded Europe. It was the rule of conquerors over those under the yoke. The Asiatic invaders stamped the impress of their barbarism upon the diversified Christian peoples whom they subdued. But while the warlike Albanians, after protracted resistance, finally came over in a mass to Islam, and afterwards furnished the best soldiers of the Porte, and the Bosnian nobles had likewise purchased the continuance of their position by the sacrifice of their faith, the church became, for those who remained Christian, the one sustaining force which enabled them to regain their lost national existence.

Attempts to shake off the Turkish yoke had always resulted in increasing the severity of the oppression endured. Although even Catharine II., after exciting the Greeks to revolt, had ignobly sacrificed them to the vengeance of their tyrants, yet subsequently the first real service was rendered them by Russia, when, in 1802, she induced the Porte to promise that the hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia should not be removed without consultation with Russia, and that, with the exception of tradesmen, no Turk should be allowed in these lands. The general disorder caused among the ruling classes by the fruitless attempts of Sultan Selim III. to effect reforms in the state and in the army increased among the subject races the pressure for independence. The inhuman cruelty with which the Mohammedan Dahis effected their purpose of executing those who might become dangerous to themselves, led to an outbreak of the Servians in 1804. Resolved even to seek death as freemen rather than to suffer it at the hands of their executioners, Haiduks and refugees gathered around George Petrovitch, known as Kara George. Out of the resistance to the Dahis there grew up a rising against the sultan. The Servians hoped for aid from Austria: but in order to afford Napoleon no pretext for interference, the Vienna



cabinet confined itself to friendly representations addressed to the Sublime Porte. The reserve of Austria drove the Servians into the arms of Russia, yet there came thence nothing save empty promises. Notwithstanding England's threats, the Porte declared war, December, 1806, against Russia. Meantime a rising succeeded in Montenegro and Herzegovina; but in the year 1809 the entire right bank of the Morava fell into the hands of the Turks, who filled the land with slaughter and outrage. They would even have pressed forward over this river, had not the Russians crossed the lower Danube. But Kara George dreaded an agreement between these helpers and his domestic adversaries, and he offered to Austria the submission of Servia. This state, however, in its weakness, could not prevent the Russians from strengthening themselves more and more on the lower Danube. The Peace of Bucharest, it is true, left the Servians tributary to the Porte; but it assured complete amnesty and self-government, the fortresses remaining in possession of the Turks. Scarcely, however, had the Russians turned their backs, when the Porte devastated the unhappy land anew with warfare. Kara George fled into the Austrian territory. Only Milosh Obrenovitch refused to follow him; and the high opinion which the Turks held of him procured for him, when he surrendered, the confirmation of his former dignity. The land began to be at peace, when the violence of the victors excited, in the year 1814, another insurrection. His own peril compelled Milosh to place himself at its head, and for the second time the Servians freed themselves by their own strength. It is true that in 1815 they acknowledged the sovereignty of the sultan; but they managed the levying of their own taxes, and were allowed to participate in the administration of justice.

The sentiment of belonging together as one nation was maintained among the Greeks more vigorously than among the Servians. The loose structure of the Ottoman Empire left to them a certain freedom which in many localities even assumed the form of self-government; and in several of the islands of the Greek Archipelago dependence was limited to a tribute in gold, or in men supplied for the fleet of the Grand Seignior. Under Russian protection and during the wars of the Revolution the spirit of commerce was awakened among the Greeks with astonishing rapidity. In all the great Mediterranean ports Greek commercial houses were established. At the same time an intellectual regeneration became diffused, proceeding eminently from the Phanariots, an aristocracy of administration,

officers, and tax-receivers that had risen to wealth and influence. To them belonged the families of the Ypsilanti, the Sutsos, and the



FIG. 9. — The Metropolitan Germanos raising the banner of freedom. Fresco-painting under the arcades of the palace garden at Munich by Peter H. (1802-1871). From a lithograph by H. Köhler.

Maurocordatos. The beginnings of the new Greek literature, the first attempts to elevate popular education, to purify and enrich

the language, were connected with the names of Alexander Maurocordatos and his son Nicholas, the first Greek hospodar of Wallachia. A great number of young Greeks were studying in the western universities, and recollections of ancient Hellas were revived again. Korais became the founder of the modern Greek written language. Hoping to promote the liberation of his country, for which he felt an ardent zeal, the Thessalian poet, Rhigas, formed at Bucharest a secret society; but being arrested at Trieste, and delivered over to the pasha of Belgrade, he was shot in 1798 by his guard.

Once set in motion, the national agitation continued steadily to increase. The establishment of the republic of the Ionian Islands and the rising of the Servians strengthened the effect produced by the diversified points of contact of Greeks with the west. The war of 1813 threw the entire Christian population of the Turkish empire into great agitation, and the victory of the allies they regarded as their own. The more painful was the disenchantment when the Congress of Vienna had neither eyes nor ears for them.

Left by the Christian powers without support, the national movement among the Greeks assumed the force of a secret league. The Hetairia Philike, which was organized in 1814 by three merchants of Odessa, and the members of which were obliged to bind themselves by oath to a contest till death against the enemies of their faith and of their country, knew at the beginning how to hide its aims behind those of the union of the Philomusae, which was founded by Capo d'Istria at Athens in 1812 for the preservation of Hellenic antiquities. The Hetairia ventured in 1818 to transfer its seat to Constantinople. It was decided to begin the general insurrection in Servia, already half liberated. The aged Kara George, chosen as chief leader, returned to his country; but Milosh betrayed him to the Turks, and George was treacherously murdered. Milosh himself now (1817) took the lead of the Servian nation, and was acknowledged as chief. The Hetairia was obliged to seek for itself another head. Capo d'Istria, to whom they turned at first, positively refused, for he knew that his master, the czar, was now filled with the most vehement dread of everything that was styled revolutionary; instead, the office of general ephor was undertaken by the young prince Alexander Ypsilanti, who had served with distinction under the Russian flag, and burned with enthusiasm for the liberation of his people.

The heat of men's minds had reached such a point that longer



delay exposed the whole plan to the danger of premature discovery. In the war in which the Porte at that time became involved with one of its most powerful vassals, the pasha Ali of Janina, fortune sent the Greeks an event in the highest degree favorable to their insurrection. This man, whose eminent gifts excited an admiration as great as the detestation aroused by his character, had gradually risen to be lord of all Epirus, Acarnania, and Thessaly, and had broken up the power and feudal strifes of hereditary chieftains. Only the small mountain tribe of Suliotes, led by the hero Tsavellas, was not subdued till the year 1803. But as suddenly and brilliantly as Ali's meteor had flashed its light at first, with like rapidity did it become extinguished. A plan, by which he had earlier contrived the murder of Ismail Pasha, was the occasion of his proscription as guilty of high treason (July, 1820). Surrounded by defection and treachery in his own house, he was besieged at Janina; and to conquer him the sultan called thither the expelled Suliotes. Led by young Markos Bozzaris, 800 Suliote warriors appeared in the Turkish camp. But not in vain had Ali for years been maintaining confidential relations with the Greeks, especially with the Hetairia; and several of the older leaders in the contest for freedom, Odysseus of Ithaca, Karaiskakis of Epirus, the physician Kolettis, and others, had been drawn to his princely abode and into his service. Being initiated into the plans of the secret league, the Suliotes, in consideration of a promise to restore their beloved mountains to them, left the Turkish camp on December 6, and were the first among the Greeks to plant the standard of independence. Ali did not thus escape his fate, for he suffered himself to be enticed from the fortress by Khurkhit Pasha, and was basely struck down on February 5, 1822.

No time could have come to the Greeks more favorable than this to strike for freedom, and the feverish excitement forbade longer delay. After the Pandour chief Vladimiresko by a rising in Little Wallachia, and Captain Karavias by a slaughter of the Turks, surprised in Galacz, had begun the struggle for freedom and faith, Alexander Ypsilanti displayed (Fig. 10), on March 7, at Jassy, the flag of the Hetairia, — a phoenix on a black field, — and made the announcement "that a great power will protect the rising." But upon the badly chosen soil of Moldavia and Wallachia, countries hardly known to the Greeks, his words found no response: and the Emperor Alexander, upon whose aid he founded his adventurous hopes, was then at Laibach, wholly under the influence of Metter-



nich, who was far removed from sympathy with his fellow-Christians. It concerned him solely and alone to keep Turkey as a bulwark against the farther advance of the Russians on the Lower Danube,



FIG. 10. — Alexander Ypsilanti unfurling the colors of the Hetairia in Jassy. Fresco painting under the arcades of the garden of the palace at Munich, by Peter Hess (1792-1871). From the lithograph by H. Köhler.

and consequently he saw in the insurrection a peril to Austrian interests. With the feeling then entertained by Alexander, it was

not difficult for him to persuade the emperor that the Greeks were nothing but rebels against their legitimate sovereign, who must be



FIG. 11. — Mauromichalis with his Mainotes is victorious at Vergina. *Accompanying* under the arcades of the garden of the palace at Munich, by Peter Hess. From the lithograph by H. Köder.

brought to reason like those in Spain and Naples. Ypsilanti was struck from the rolls of the Russian army; and to the Porte, which



had declared him guilty of high treason, permission was given, in conformity with the Peace of Bucharest, for the advance of its troops into the Danubian principalities. Treachery lurked about the general ephor, and defection thinned his ranks. At the village of Dragatchan, in Little Wallachia, his 'sacred band' suffered a very disastrous defeat from the Turks, on June 19; and he himself fled to Austrian territory, where he languished as a prisoner of state until 1827, when the intercession of the Emperor Alexander restored him to freedom. The remainder of the insurrection in the principalities was quelled in blood.

The cause of Greece from these abortive attempts derived only this advantage, that, notwithstanding all denial of the adventure on the part of Alexander, it furnished fresh food for the Porte's distrust of Russia, and, in consequence of the absence of the Ottoman troops, facilitated the rising in Greece proper. Without a definite and general plan, the insurrection broke out there at different points. At the head of his wild Mainotes, who boasted of being the direct descendants of the ancient Spartans, Petros Mauromichalis, called Petrobei, came down from the mountains of Laconia; and in Patras Archbishop Germanos erected the cross, and gave absolution to the soldiers of freedom (Fig. 9). Within twenty days 15,000 Turks were ruthlessly and in part faithlessly slain. But before the walls of the strong fortress of Tripolitza the insurrection might have been arrested had it not been for the Mainote Theodore Kolokotronis, a man of untamed wildness and great fierceness. After a relieving army had been beaten back at Thermopylae, hunger overcame the beleaguered city; but pending the loosely conducted negotiations, the Greeks mounted the walls, and in a three days' carnival of slaughter satiated their vengeance on the Turks for the outrage committed by the frenzied rabble of Constantinople, who on the festival of Easter had dragged the gray-headed patriarch Gregory from the altar, and after vile outrages had hung him in his full pontifical robes at the gates of his cathedral. But not by bloody misdeeds alone, but also by treachery and a universal spirit of greed, by dissension, envy, and jealousy, did the Greeks dishonor their struggle for freedom, and thereby manifest how luxuriantly the evil characteristics of their forefathers had increased during the many centuries of their servitude. From the first till the last day ignoble quarrels divided the leaders, and tore asunder the people. The opposition between the klephts (brigands), the military chiefs, — among whom

Kolokotronis was prominent, — and the leading citizens, who had found a capable head in the highly cultivated Alexander Maurocordatos, was never settled. It was the latter who became the head of the executive power, after the general national assembly held at Piadhia, not far from Epidaurus, on January 13, 1822, had solemnly proclaimed the independence of the Hellenic people. That the assembly at the same time, in the "Organic Statute of Epidaurus," issued a constitution on the model of western Europe, was in keeping with the fantastic schemes of the time.

Long before, the iron arm of a dictator had become a necessity to protect this youthful freedom against foes from without and foes from within. For even now Khurkhith Pasha was hastening, with Mahmud, the pasha of Drama, after the destruction of Ali of Janina, to invade and lay waste the Morea; while the fleet was preparing the same fate for the islands, which, although they had less to bear from the pressure of the Turkish yoke, yet with the greatest determination had sided with the cause of freedom. To them belongs the fame, not only of giving the highest pledge of devotion by the sacrifice of their abounding prosperity, absolutely annihilated by the war, but also of contributing in the highest degree to break the military superiority of the Turks by their daring at sea. The bold mariners of Psara, Hydra, and Spetsae were already the terror of the Turks. With little difficulty they succeeded in recapturing Chios, but later the splendid island was barbarously ravaged by the Turks. Then the Psariot Canaris (Fig. 12) and forty-two of his comrades swore vengeance. During the night of June 19, while the Turks were giving themselves up to the rejoicings of the feast of Bairam, he set on fire their flagship by sending his fireship against it, so that the vessel, with its crew of 3000 men, was blown up, and the capudan pasha mortally wounded. The bold avengers escaped, and the Turkish fleet crept away affrighted into the Hellespont.

That the land attack also completely failed the Greeks owed not merely to their own valor, but also to wretched military leadership on the part of their enemies. After Khurkhith had suffered himself with his entire force to be arrested by a band of Suliotes, he himself, by his dilatory movements, rendered it possible for Maurocordatos and Markos Bozzaris to hold Missolonghi. The attempt of the Turks, repeated the following year, was dashed in pieces against the wretched mud-ramparts of Anatoliko, defended by the Englishman Martin.





FIG. 12. — Canaris burns three Turkish ships of the line at Tchesme. Fresco painting under the arcades of the garden of the palace at Munich, by Peter Hess. From the lithograph by H. Köhler.

Unfortunately it was precisely the successful repulse of the hostile invasion which furnished fresh sustenance to the party strife. The national assembly was forced to flee before the savage Kolo-

kolokotronis to Kranidhi: and matters came to an open civil war, which, however, ended in June, 1824, with the victory of the government. Kolokotronis was brought in custody to Hydra.

Thus the Greeks in the blindness of passion were rending one another, while a new danger was rising against them. For Sultan Mahmud II. and the capudan pasha, Khosrew, his most influential adviser at the time, now summoned the aid of Mehemet Ali, the pasha of Egypt, to put down the Greek insurrection. With genuine Turkish statecraft, the too powerful vassal was to be employed as Turkey's saviour in her need, and was now to consume his forces in combat with the rebels. This noteworthy man, a Macedonian of low origin, had gradually risen to the rank of pasha after his coming to Egypt in 1798 in the army sent against Bonaparte; and in the year 1811, by the treacherous massacre of the Mamelukes, had made himself despotic lord of the land. In consideration of the assurance of receiving Cyprus and Crete, both of them long the objects of his covetous craving, Mehemet Ali was prepared to render assistance. With tiger-like ferocity his son-in-law, Hasan Pasha, threw himself upon Crete. The island suffered fearful outrages; of the prisoners the older women were cut down, the younger sold as slaves; the priests were burned to death, and others were butchered. A like fate Khosrew Pasha prepared for the hated island of Psara, after the defenders of the last fort of Palaeocastro had blown up the fort, themselves, their wives and children, with 2000 Turks. The Psariotes who escaped became the founders of Hermupolis on the island of Syra.

The Turco-Egyptian fleet was now assembling under Khosrew, and Mehemet Ali's step-son, Ibrahim, to deal the fatal blow at the Morea. But the old Hydriote sea-hero, Miaulis, was keeping good watch. Lion-like, he rushed to attack in the bay of Budrun the vastly superior force; and dread of his fireships drove the capudan pasha, with nothing accomplished, back into the Dardanelles. Suddenly, however, in February, 1825, he threw himself upon the Messenian coast. In vain the government, astonished and utterly surprised, now called Kolokotronis from his prison to take the chief command: but with the exception of the inaccessible mountains and Nauplia, the whole peninsula fell into Ibrahim's hands.

In order not to leave to the Egyptians alone the distinction of great success, the sultan despatched the Seraskier Reshid Pasha (Kiutagi) against Missolonghi with 20,000 men. With the courage

of the men of Thermopylae, Notis Bozzaris defended the fortress at the head of the little garrison. The eyes of the whole world were directed in eager suspense to this one point. Lord Byron, who had hastened thither full of enthusiasm, found in the besieged city, infected with fever, his early grave, and died April 19, 1824. To his deep mortification, the sultan was compelled to call for the aid of the haughty Ibrahim to conquer the petty place. Worn out by hunger and disease, 3000 men with 5000 women endeavored to break through the lines by night; but this plan was betrayed, and only 1300, among them seven women, reached Salona. Those that remained behind blew themselves up, with 2300 of the enemy who had thronged into the fort. With the fall of Missolonghi, western Hellas was lost to the Greeks. In eastern Hellas the Acropolis of Athens still offered resistance; but on May 6, 1827, it also fell. There remained only one strong blow to be dealt across the isthmus, and the last resistance of the Greeks would be broken. However, this effort Reshid did not make. But what the foe spared the Greeks, it would seem that anarchy among themselves was about to accomplish; it went so far that the helpless government fled, before the lawless soldiery, from Nauplia to Aegina. The Greeks seemed irrevocably lost; but then there came to them deliverance from without, in part through the enthusiasm of western Europe for the heroic descendants of the ancient Hellenes, and partly through a very peculiar complication of the general political relations, which finally led, against their will, to the interference of the powers in favor of the sinking cause.

Not one of the European cabinets felt even the least degree of sympathy. That of St. Petersburg considered an independent state incompatible with Russia's designs upon Constantinople: Vienna saw in it a weakening of the Turkish barrier against Russia: London feared it as a commercial rival. But all Christendom felt the outrageous and inhuman deeds practised upon the partners of its faith as a challenge hurled at it. In Germany scholars and classical teachers became the chief centre of an ardent 'Philhellenism.' In France, England, and Switzerland, societies were formed. Bands of Philhellenists, a diversified mixture of enthusiasts and adventurers, crowded to the banners of Greece; among them were General von Norman of Würtemberg, Lord Cochrane, and his countryman General Church, while Byron's martyr death threw around the struggle of the Greeks, whose dark stains were unknown in the



west, a higher consecration. Metternich stood confounded in the presence of this movement, in every relation repulsive to him; but it helped little that he rebuked the Philhellenist inclination of the courts of Stuttgart and Munich, and denounced to the latter the philologist Thiersch, instructor of the king's daughters, as 'one of the most audacious apostles of freedom.'

Even in the soul of Alexander the principles impressed on him at Laibach held their ground but a short time, particularly in view of the antipathy of the Russian people toward the Crescent, so violently excited by the murder of the patriarch. Capo d'Istria again gained the ear of the czar. A note prepared by him and delivered to the Divan on July 18, 1821, enumerated to the Porte the demands in favor of its Christian subjects. When the desired promise did not follow, Stroganoff, the ambassador, left Constantinople on July 27. Astounded by this, the other ambassadors interposed in order to prevent a complete rupture. Alexander suffered himself to be appeased for the time. Metternich enjoyed the triumph of knowing that his old adversary, Capo d'Istria, received leave of absence for an indefinite period. In order to obtain England's support for future emergencies, he had a conference with King George IV. and Castlereagh in Hanover, and both were in complete agreement with him in regard to the necessity of maintaining peace between Russia and Turkey. He returned in the joyous confidence of winning still greater battles than that of Laibach. And in truth, at Verona he found the czar upon the Eastern Question (a designation which occurred here for the first time) surprisingly compliant.

But Metternich's hopes were immediately annihilated by two incidents, — the miserable result of Mahmud Pasha's campaign, and Canning's entrance into the ministry. On March 23 Canning recognized the Grecian blockade, and thereby the Greeks as a belligerent power. To his deep sorrow Metternich perceived that thus his prop was broken; more depended, consequently, on Russia's adherence to the alliance. At an interview of the two emperors in Czernowitz in October, 1823, such a coincidence of views was apparent that Metternich conceived new assurance of the maintenance of peace. But as often as he rolled the stone of peace up the mountain, so often when near the summit it rolled back again. For the Russian invitation to conference at St. Petersburg was accompanied, not merely by the proposal of a joint interference in order to put a stop to bloodshed, but also of the establishment of three separated



vassal states under the sovereignty of the Porte, for the purpose of settling the Greek question. In Vienna the effect of the Russian communication was overwhelming. Metternich was on his guard against all compulsory measures of which the Porte should be the object, the only admissible alternative being the subjection or the independence of the Greeks. Not that he had the latter seriously in mind; on the contrary, Austrian statesmen were now entertaining a decided hope that Ibrahim's landing in the Morea would accomplish the other alternative, the renewed subjection of the Greeks. The conference, therefore, separated with matters unadjusted, not, however, without leaving behind one weighty result: uneasiness and distrust with respect to Austria brought the Emperor Alexander to the conclusion of seeking an understanding with England; and he found ready acceptance with Canning, who hoped in this manner to restrain Russian ambition.

Before, however, the alteration thus entering into the respective positions of the Great Powers became public, Alexander suddenly died, on December 1, 1825, at Taganrog, and a decided reaction as regards the course of the Oriental complication was imminent.

The heir next in succession to the childless deceased emperor was his brother Constantine, who resided in Warsaw; but partly on account of conscious unfitness, and and partly from love to the Polish Countess Grudzinska, he had renounced his right to the throne, and Alexander had thereupon appointed his younger brother, Nicholas, his successor. Both parts of the arrangement were very judiciously kept secret. As soon as the news of the emperor's death reached St. Petersburg, Nicholas refused absolutely to allow himself to be proclaimed emperor, and took the oath to his brother Constantine. Not until Constantine had again positively refused the crown did he put an end, on December 24, to this display of his magnanimity and brotherly fidelity. It was furthermore high time; for the uncertainty during several weeks as regards who was really the legitimate emperor gave opportunity for the outbreak of a long smouldering conspiracy.

The great wars of 1813-1815, in bringing Russian armies for the first time into immediate and continued contact with the civilization of western Europe, had brought the thoughtful minds among the officers to a consciousness of the great distance existing between the west and their conditions at home. Impelled by the vague yet powerful pressure for political reforms which had seized upon other

cultivated circles also, military conspiracies arose. The emperor's death, and the protracted suspense with regard to the succession to the throne, inclined the conspirators to break out on December 26, at St. Petersburg. But only a relatively small part of the garrison obeyed the call, and came together and hurried for Constantine and the constitution, which they supposed to be his wife. Three discharges of artillery put an end to the whole affair. Five of the chiefs of the conspiracy, among them Colonel Pestel and the poet Ryleyeff, ended their lives on the gallows.

This abortive rising of the December conspirators was so far important for the further development of the Oriental question, that the new emperor took warning from it to seek a diversion abroad for the element fermenting in the interior of his realm, and particularly within his army. It is certain that toward the Greeks he had shown decided ill-will. Metternich, in his indestructible self-complacence, from this circumstance at once formed the confident belief that Nicholas would be as submissive to his guardianship as his predecessor had been, and wholly overlooked the fact that the emperor had expressly reserved to himself alone the right of fighting out his special dispute with the Porte. On March 17 the Russian ultimatum was announced at Constantinople, which demanded the fulfilment of the Peace of Bucharest, and as satisfaction for grievances suffered, as well as for the purpose of settling all pending differences, that Turkish plenipotentiaries should be sent to Russian territory. The Porte, with an angry heart, obeyed a bitter necessity, and accepted the Russian ultimatum.

The Russian cabinet, however, had with such certainty counted upon opposition and refusal, that it was highly important to be still further assured of the secret connection with England that had been initiated. On the other hand, Canning purposed to save Greece through the mere apprehension of a war with Russia on the part of the Porte. While Stratford Canning, appointed ambassador to Constantinople, was on his way at Perivolakia, he concerted with the profoundly disheartened Greeks that they should agree to an accommodation in pursuance of which they would be ready to content themselves with a position of greater freedom under Turkish sovereignty. The English minister meantime sent the duke of Wellington to St. Petersburg: and with him Nicholas, without awaiting the Porte's answer, subscribed on April 4 the famous St. Petersburg protocol, in which he accepted the basis of the convention made at

Perivolakia. A few days later (April 11) the Greeks chose Count Capo d'Istria (Fig. 13) chief of the executive department; and taking fresh courage, by the acceptance of the "Constitution of Troezen," they made a protest against any decision of their fate without their consent and without the acknowledgment of their complete independence.

From this St. Petersburg protocol dated the deliverance of the Greeks. Since the secret of this arrangement was not sufficiently



FIG. 13. — Count Capo d'Istria. From a steel engraving by Wright.

kept on the part of Russia, it quickly came to the knowledge of the other cabinets; and it produced universally the greatest impression. Metternich felt that the direction of Oriental affairs had slipped from his hand. Sultan Mahmud perceived that he was still threatened with Anglo-Russian interference. This only confirmed him the more in the conviction that the salvation of his empire lay solely in the establishment of a regular army, inasmuch as the Janizaries, formerly the defenders of Islam, had now become its ruin. He secured in advance the approval of the Sheik-ul-Islam and of the ulemas. On the basis of a decree subscribed by them, that the Moslems must be in obedience and subordination, and learn military

exercises, it was ordered that the Janizaries give up 150 out of every *orta* to the newly organized troops. The Janizaries resisted, and broke out in open revolt; but the sultan had taken his measures. Those who escaped from the flames of the burning barracks were shot or butchered; all taken in arms were strangled; and all Janizaries in the fleet, Khosrew ordered to be thrown into the sea. The Ottoman empire entered into the era of reform, not suspecting that through the destruction of the old military aristocracy the entire Moslem life would be brought to the ground. For the moment the weakening of military power rendered compliance with Russia's demands unavoidable. On October 26, the last day of the allotted interval, the sultan sent his plenipotentiaries to Akerman, in order to yield to all demands. But his anger flamed forth when immediately thereupon Stratford Canning delivered to him the St. Petersburg protocol. In the roughest manner he repulsed this as well as every other interference in the Greek cause.

Metternich on his side was flattering himself that the czar's connection with the minister who had used the fiery language with regard to Portugal could not possibly continue; and he considered that he was assured of the agreement of France with his policy, since his last year's visit to Paris. In both points he was a second time to meet with disappointment. Canning had succeeded in gaining over France; and the St. Petersburg protocol was changed into a treaty signed at London, July 6, 1827, by the three powers, in pursuance of which Greece was to constitute a Turkish tributary state with home administration.

This treaty was Canning's last political act. In Vienna joy prevailed at the death of this 'fatal man,' this 'world-scurge,' this 'unmasked Jacobin upon the ministerial bench;' but the progress of events was not arrested by his death. When the Porte declined positively all foreign interference in the affairs of Greece, the commanders of the Anglo-Franco-Russian fleet stationed in Greek waters, Admirals Codrington, Rigny, and von Heyden, demanded categorically the cessation of hostilities. When the answer was delayed, in order to give emphasis to their demands they ran into the harbor of Navarino on October 20, and took up a position opposite the Turco-Egyptian fleet anchored there. An engagement was not contemplated; but out of an accidental dispute with regard to anchorage ground, a battle sprang up which in less than two hours ended with the almost complete annihilation of Ibrahim's fleet.



One loud, joyous cry went throughout all Europe at the report of this event, which had put an end to all the subtleties of diplomacy. Very different was the impression upon the cabinets. While the Porte, apart from the sultan's outburst of rage, received the occurrence with the resignation of fatalists, undisguised joy was expressed in Paris, and at St. Petersburg men laughed in their sleeves; but in London the greatest perplexity was exhibited, because England herself had helped to cripple an ancient ally, and the one whose assistance impeded Russia's advance into Asia.

Wellington, in parliament, plainly styled the battle "an unwelcome event, which will have no further results." But nothing equalled the indignation of statesmen of Vienna at an act which, according to the language of the Emperor Francis, bore every mark of being an assassination. In Constantinople the warlike feeling meanwhile was gaining the upper hand; and an appeal to believers, full of the most violent invectives against Russia, was followed by the pitiless expulsion of all Christians from the capital and the most energetic preparations. On April 28 the Emperor Nicholas replied by a declaration of war.

Thus was that undertaken which had cost the other powers so much pains to avert, and the beginning of war seemed to justify the gloomiest anticipations. On June 8 the Russian army, commanded by Wittgenstein, crossed the Danube at Isakshi, under the eyes of the emperor. On the 18th Braila surrendered. On October 11 Varna fell, and with it all eastern Bulgaria came into the hands of the Russians. At the same time Paskevitch captured Kars and Akhalkikh in Armenia. But after the ineffectual investment of Shumla and Silistria, Wittgenstein was compelled, at the beginning of the stormy season of the year, to recross the Danube with his army badly thinned. The decisive result was not reached till the following year, when the Russians resumed the war with augmented forces. In Asia, Paskevitch conquered Erzerum, and the fleet blockaded the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. On June 11 Wittgenstein's successor, Diebitsch, dispersed the army of the Grand Vizier Reshid Mehemed at Kulewtchi. The grand vizier, with the remainder of his army, crossed over the Balkan Mountains; and on August 20 Diebitsch (Fig. 14) made his entrance into Adrianople. But the Emperor Nicholas considered that the hour for erecting the cross again upon the church of St. Sophia had not yet come; and at his desire his father-in-law, the king of Prussia, willingly under-

took a peace mediation, that a general war might not be enkindled by this eastern fire. Through the intervention of General von Mülling, whom he despatched to Constantinople, the Porte, being also pressed by the western powers with the fear of a worse result, subscribed to the Peace of Adrianople on September 14, 1829. By this treaty the sultan ceded to Russia the islands at the mouth of the Danube, and, on the eastern coast of the Black Sea, Anapa, Poti, Akhalzikh, and Akhalkabi, as well as a part of Armenia. He engaged to pay a war indemnity, opened the straits to the trade of all nations, assented to the rule of the hospodars for life, and promised assent to the Treaty of London, and to conform to the decisions of the Greek conference of the three powers sitting in London from April, 1828.

By this last agreement, therefore, Greece was saved from the worst fate, that of being delivered over to Turkey. In other respects the country was in a condition of exhaustion, destitution, and disintegration that mocked all description. The recently chosen president, Capo d'Istria, was simply a tool of Russia. What he did on the one hand for the increase of material prosperity he destroyed on the other hand by his nepotism, by his undisguised contempt for Greek barbarism, and by the destruction of the ancient system of self-government in favor of bureaucratic arrangements. It was suspicion of the president's partiality for Russia that won Wellington's assent to the despatching of a French corps to the Morea. When, however, it appeared that the French were disposed to participate actively in the war, the London Conference insisted that they should re-embark, with the exception of one brigade; and moreover, on November 6, 1828, placed the Morea, together with the neighboring islands, provisionally under the joint protection of all three of the powers. Since, however, the Greeks on no considera-



FIG. 14. — General Diebitsch Sabalkanski.  
Marble bust in the Walhalla at Ratis-  
bach.

tion were willing to hear either of a position as tributary, or of narrow limits to their territory, the conference presently extended the frontier on the north to a line drawn from the Gulf of Arta to the Gulf of Volo; and when the Greeks represented their dissatisfaction with this also, the conference, on February 3, 1830, agreed upon the three following points: 1. Greece shall be an independent state, extending to a line drawn from the mouth of the Aspropotamo to the mouth of the Spercheios; and it shall be governed by a hereditary prince, who shall not have the title of king, and shall not belong to one of the royal houses parties to this treaty. 2. The sovereign prince, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the widowed son-in-law of the king of England, shall be proposed to the Greeks for sovereign. 3. The free exercise of the Catholic religion shall be secured in the new state.

It was not possible for even these arrangements to introduce the new state into an orderly and secure existence. At first, indeed, Prince Leopold, intoxicated by the alluring prospect, accepted the proffered dignity unconditionally; but when he came to perceive subsequently the great difficulties of the position, and, in addition to this, to consider the severe illness of his father-in-law, from whose death might be anticipated changes in the relations of the royal family of England, he finally declined the offer on May 21, 1830. Disappointment in their prospects increased the universal exasperation of the Greeks, until it broke out in open civil war between the partisans of Capo d'Istria and the party of the constitution. Conduriotis and Maurocordatos put themselves at the head of his opponents. On the order of the commune of Hydra, Miaulis took possession of the fleet lying in the harbor of Paros; and when the Russian admiral, Ricord, was preparing to wrest it from him, he himself committed it to the flames (August 13). Maina also joined the rising. The severity with which Capo d'Istria proceeded against the family of Mauromichalis, and his keeping in prison a large number of its members, filled the measure of blood revenge. On September 9, at the entrance of the church in Nauplia, he was assassinated by Constantine and George Mauromichalis, brother and nephew of Petrobei, whom he had cast into prison. The senate now placed the supreme power in the hands of a triumvirate, consisting of Augustin Capo d'Istria, brother of the slain man, Kolokotronis, and Kolettis; but this action did not put an end to internal disorder. It was high time for the powers of the conference to estab-







The arrival of King Otho of

From the painting by Peter



Scene in Nauplia: February 23, 1833.

63. (Munich, Neue Pinakothek.)

PLATE IV.



The arrival of King Otho of Greece in Nauplia: February 3, 1833.

From the painting by Peter Hess, 1833. (Munich, Neue Pinakothek.)





in Nauplia: February 3, 1833.

(Munich, Neue Pinakothek.)





lish a definitive arrangement. At length they had found in the person of the Bavarian Prince Otho—not yet of age—a sovereign to fill the throne of Greece with the title of king. But before the young king set foot upon the soil of his kingdom at Nauplia, on February 6, 1833 (PLATE IV.), the civil war had broken out anew, and continued until Augustin, although chosen president by the National Assembly, and then regent, was compelled by the Constitutionalists to resign on April 9, 1832. Otho came to Greece accompanied by a Bavarian regency and 3500 Bavarians, who were to remain in the country until the organization of a home army.

It was to prove an indescribably difficult mission to set up a regular government; and the difficulty was increased by the mutual jealousy of the protective powers. Neither the ability of the young king nor that of the regents (von Armansperg, von Maurer, and von Heideck) sufficed for the task of accomplishing the work. Therefore this Bavarian regency, possessed of small knowledge of the peculiar needs of the land, advanced its interests but very little, and itself took no root there.

The liberation of Greece belonged, however, to the most marked events of the period. It was the first instance of a Christian population, subject to the Turks, shaking off utterly this degrading yoke, gaining its complete independence, and thus showing to the other Christian subjects of the Sublime Porte the possibility of doing the same. But, above all, the moral impression was great. By means of the heroic struggle and the final victory of this little people, the spirit of the Western nations, which had sunken low under the pressure of the Holy Alliance, for the first time rose again. The dejection and the disappointment, which, since the end of the great war, since the shipwreck of so many national hopes, had seized upon the minds of men, gave place to new hopes; and these hopes assisted in preparing the way for the aspiration, which, under the immediate influence of the Revolution of July in Paris, soon powerfully manifested itself everywhere.

## CHAPTER IV.

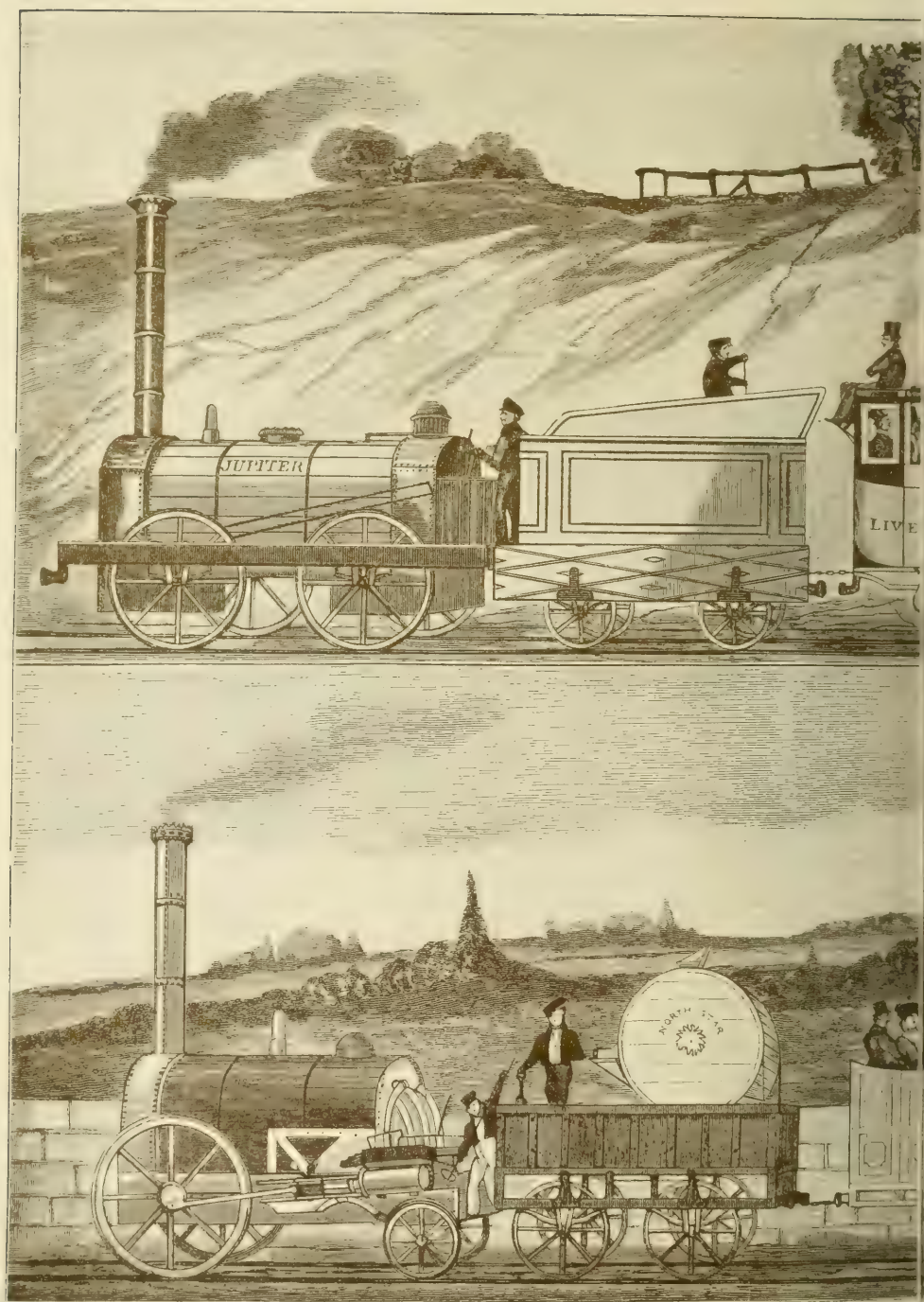
### INTERNAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM 1815 TO 1830.

IF the history of all times impresses the belief that the destinies of the peoples are conditioned and determined far less by the volitions of individuals than by continuous and growing development, partly in mental, partly in natural, relations, this fact is made specially conspicuous in the history of the nineteenth century. It is one of the peculiar characteristics of this age, that in it material interests gained an importance never before attained, and that by means of them the intellectual, the social, and even the political, condition of the entire cultivated populations underwent the most profound transformation. These changes began in England. Simultaneously with the political contests, which kept continental Europe in turmoil for several decades, in England that great industrial revolution was taking place which drew other nations also within its sweep. This had already begun in the last half of the preceding century with Hargreaves's and Arkwright's spinning-jenny (1771), and with the power-loom of Cartwright (1786); but it was reserved for the memorable invention of the steam-engine by James Watt (Fig. 15) to effect the entire fundamental transformation of productive agencies. House industries began to be supplanted by large manufactories; the application of steam as a motive power facilitated and multiplied trade; and on October 7, 1807, Fulton's boat made its first trip upon the Hudson from New York to Albany. In the year 1824, twelve years after the first steamboat navigated the Clyde, already one hundred and twenty-six were employed on the English rivers and coasts; and in 1825 the first steamer ventured upon the passage to India. In the same year the locomotive (PLATE V.), devised and constructed by Stephenson, travelled upon the iron rails from Stockton to Darlington, and from Liverpool to Manchester. Gas began to be used in lighting the streets; and Sir Humphry Davy's safety-lamp facilitated the supplying of the vastly increased demand for coal.

But machinery and manufactures became also the parents of

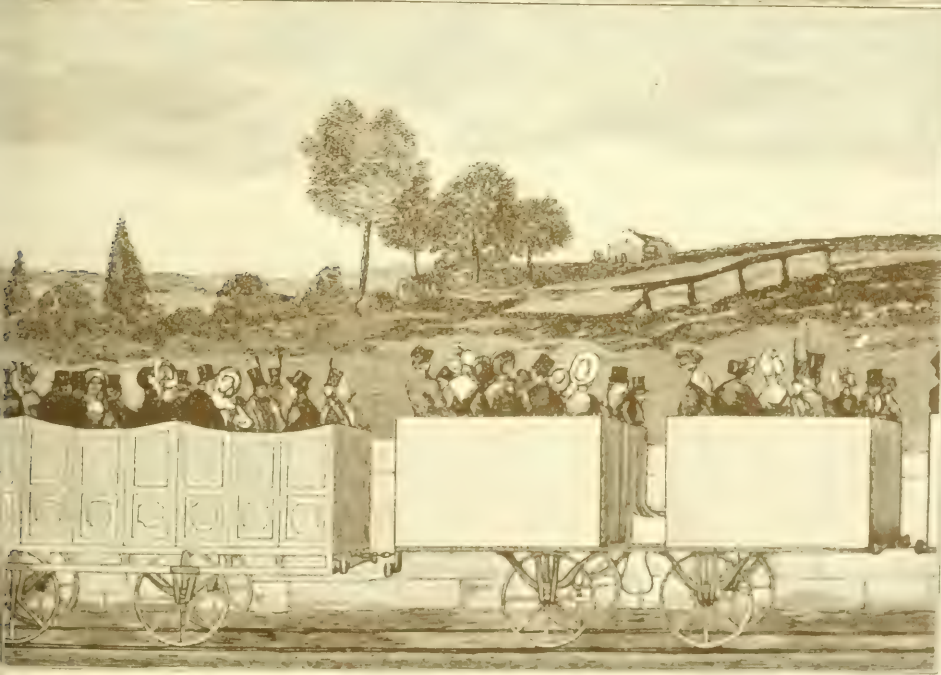






Views of the first railway in England. From the illust

Built by George Stephenson. Opened September 15, 1830. Length of the track, 35 English them. Eighteen miles lay on stone ties, 13 on oak or larch ties. The road passed over 63 bridges, 22 feet wide, and 16 feet high. The cost was about £1,000,000. With the engine "Northumbrian" in sixty-seven minutes. The price in the better-class coaches, such as the "Queen Adelaide" and t



ns of a contemporary English work on this railway.

Rails, 15 feet long, 2 inches wide, and 1 inch thick. Double tracks with 4 feet 8 inches between  
 aduct of 9 arches, each of which had a span of 50 feet, and through a tunnel 2240 yards long,  
 in covered the distance in one hour and fifty minutes. in the year 1831, with the "Memory,"  
 ellington," was five shillings.



Views of the first railway in England. From the illustrations of a contemporary English work on this railway.

Built by George Stephenson. Opened September 15, 1825. Length of the track, 25 English miles. Rails, 15 feet long, 2 inches wide, and 1 inch thick. Double tracks with 1 foot 6 inches between them. Eighteen miles lay on stone ties, 13 on oak or hark ties. The road passed over 62 bridges, and a viaduct of 9 arches, each of which had a span of 30 feet, and through a tunnel 22½ yards long, 22 feet wide, and 16 feet high. The cost was about £1,000,000. With the engine "Northumbrian" the train covered the distance in one hour and fifty minutes, in the year 1831, with the "Mercury," in sixty-seven minutes. The price in the better-class coaches, such as the "Queen Adelaide" and the "Wellington," was five shillings.





of a contemporary English work on this railway

Rails, 15 feet long, 2 inches wide, and 1 inch thick. Double tracks with 4 feet 8 inches (between  
 duct of 9 arches, each of which had a span of 50 feet, and through a tunnel 2340 yards long.  
 n covered the distance in one hour and fifty minutes; in the year 1831, with the "Mercury,"  
 llington," was five shillings.





a numerous laboring proletariat, who saw themselves threatened with want and hunger on every interruption of the market. For the first time England was called to meet this experience, immediately on the close of the great war, when, instead of the expected blessings of peace, a very painful economic catastrophe made its appearance. For, inasmuch as the Continental embargo was done away with, the speculative madness of English industry overwhelmed the markets of the entire Continent with an excess of manufactures. Upon overproduction followed inevitably cessation of sales, lowering of prices, bankruptcy, want of employment, and therewith a lamentable increase of want among the manufacturing population. Want bred crime.

In Leicestershire there were formed secret bands of Luddites, and in the night-time they destroyed the machinery.

With affecting patience the hungry coal and iron laborers in Newcastle and Wales persisted in being orderly, until despair seized on them also.

Plots, acts of violence and of in-

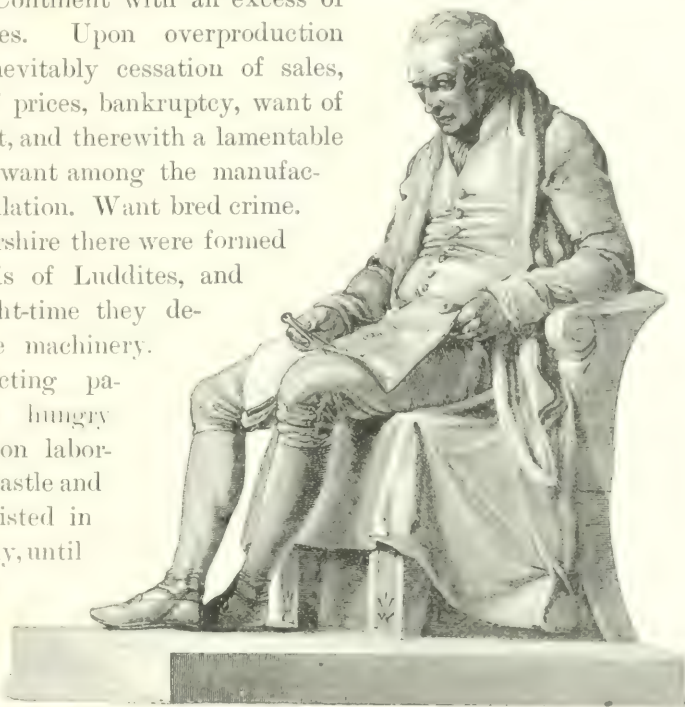


FIG. 15. Monument of James Watt, erected at Birmingham in 1827.

cendiarism, were the order of the day. The evil increased when suddenly great numbers of men, discharged from the army and navy, were thrown upon the streets. In the short space of time between 1815 and 1818 the number of persons arraigned in court, of condemnations and of executions, was doubled. The police, the system of poor-laws, and the administration of justice were so constituted that they increased, instead of restrained, want and crime. Even the severity of the laws, which imposed hanging as the penalty for two hundred offences, acted as an encouragement to the guilty; since every jury cleared a man charged with a small offence, though proven, in order not to deliver up the offender to an excessive punishment.

Indifferent and unfeeling, wrapped up in selfishness and prejudice, the privileged classes, government and parliament, reached forth no hand, either to relieve material necessities, or for the moral elevation of the pining proletariat. Although every year at least two millions of children were growing up without any instruction, not the slightest provision was made for the education of the people. And just as little was the church moved by emotions of compassion for those suffering in body or soul. It was the preference of the Tory ministry, in order thus to assure its position, to secure the gratitude of landed property, so overwhelmingly represented in parliament, and it mattered not what became of other people. When, after the conclusion of peace, vast importations of grain from Russia brought about a great lowering of the price, and consequently universal distress in home agriculture, haste was made by the reimposition of duties on grain to come to the aid of the great landlords, and thereby not merely to increase artificially the price of bread to the starving poor, but also to cut off from industry the very important remittances which the Continent was ready to offer in exchange for English manufactures. The bad harvests of 1816 and 1817 did the rest, and doubled the cost of indispensable articles of subsistence. In such circumstances it could not fail that leaders of the common stamp should seize upon the rough masses, and sweep them along into excesses very much opposed to the will of one who had risen to become the special director of the proletariat. This man was William Cobbett, a demagogue of rare gifts. In his journal, "*The Weekly Political Register*," circulated at two pence a number, he never wearied in declaring to laborers that machinery was not responsible for their distress, that to destroy it was foolish and ruinous, that the true cause of all their suffering was the unprecedented misgovernment, and the means to remedy this in a legal manner was through concerted announcements of the popular will. In a short time Cobbett found himself at the head of a numerous radical party. But the ministry seized upon some single, isolated acts of violence, in January, 1817, as an occasion to strike disturbers of the peace and reformers with the same blow, to cause parliament to grant the suspension of habeas corpus, and to pass a law to prevent seditious assemblies. Cobbett, by going to America, withdrew himself from prosecutions not so much of the government as of his creditors. As soon, however, as the period of suspension had expired (March 1, 1818) the movement revived afresh among the

laboring population of the great manufacturing cities. A great assemblage of the people, in order to give decided expression to their will, proceeded to an arbitrary choice of a representative for the Lower House : but a second meeting of 80,000 persons at St. Peter's Field, near Manchester, with Henry Hunt, the radical, as president, was, after the reading of the riot act, immediately broken up by the sudden onset of cavalry. This useless slaughter filled the hearts of the laboring class with fresh hatred and bitterness ; but the government improved the alarm of the higher orders with regard to the apprehended rising of workmen to induce the parliament to pass the six so-called gag-bills. That which was styled the Cato Street conspiracy, contrived by a former subaltern officer named Thistlewood, was nothing more than a senseless attempt aiming at murder, incendiarism, and plunder, whose ringleader deservedly ended his life on the gallows in February, 1820 ; and with like rapidity was a similar seditious effort suppressed in Glasgow.

While want was thus driving laboring men to obtain assistance, now by legal and now by illegal means, a series of intellectual thinkers and writers had begun an extremely significant conflict with the errors and prejudices handed down for many generations. Adam Smith, the greatest of these, broke with the peculiarities of the physiocrats and of the mercantile system. His views became the foundation of the system of free trade, and exposed the preposterous notion of desiring to protect one class at the expense of others in the commonwealth. Malthus laid down the laws in accordance with which the increase of population is effected ; Ricardo investigated the nature of the profit of the soil ; Hallam showed the origin and import of the English constitution ; and the jurist, Jeremy Bentham, author of the system called utilitarianism, or the doctrine of the profitable, according to which the aim and the obligation of civil society is to procure for the greatest possible number of inhabitants the greatest possible amount of comfort, raised his voice for a reform of legislation, of the principles of government, of the systems of imprisonment, and of care of the poor. The excesses of the French Revolution did, indeed, bring all political theories and reforms into discredit for a length of time ; but a younger generation took up again the great problems which those path-making spirits had elaborated, and planted them upon the soil of practical humanity. The excellent jurist, Samuel Romilly, directed his attacks upon the unreasonable and barbarous penalties for crime ; and this later was un-



tinued after him by Mackintosh. But here also as elsewhere even the slightest advance was to be wrested only by great labor from the obstinate resistance of the authorities, who were unfavorable to all innovations. In 1816 the Upper House rejected the repeal of the law which affixed the penalty of death to shoplifting to the amount of more than five shillings; and the reform party was obliged to regard it as a victory that the committee, appointed to revise the list of penalties imposed by law, did propose the abolition of the death penalty for a number of the lighter offences. To the Quakers belongs before others the honor of having had compassion on the poor and wretched; the Woman's Union, founded by Elizabeth Fry, sought as its mission to secure a more humane treatment of prisoners, especially of women. Bell and Lancaster, by their method of mutual instruction, gave the first impulse to the founding and improvement of schools for the people. Generally in all ranks a milder spirit, promoted by the periodical press, and a more earnest desire for cultivation, were to be remarked. The world of rank, estranged for a century from nobler enjoyments by gambling and carousing, fox-hunting and racing, was now, by an assemblage of rising talents, won back to a taste for literature and poetry. The poets of the later school, Southey, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Sir Walter Scott, and Thomas Moore, laid aside the strait-jacket of classical forms. Their influence, however, was far exceeded by that of Lord Byron (Fig. 16), the greatest poet England has produced since Shakespeare and Milton. With his gigantic power and his wild energy he freed the intellectual life of his people from the shackles of the conventional, and hurled defiance at the Pharisaic respectability of high society; but he expiated his offence by expulsion from his country and painful ruin to himself.

The great transformation being accomplished in the inner life of the British nation was effectually sustained by the extraordinary elevation which had been reached by the industrial arts and by trade during the last war. While the operative classes had risen to a condition of comfort and influence never attained previously, the aristocratic landed proprietor lost the monopoly of power possessed for centuries. The middle class, having already produced a number of men of weight, was wearied with playing the part, between the two great divisions of the nobility (the Tories and the Whigs), of an inactive spectator of the struggle for the possession of power. Thus there arose a reform party, which included also some of the younger

Whigs. In the Lower House it found only isolated adherents, such as Francis Burdett, Lord Cochrane, Henry Brougham, and Romilly; but it acquired influence over public opinion.

To all these demands and endeavors of a new age the Liverpool

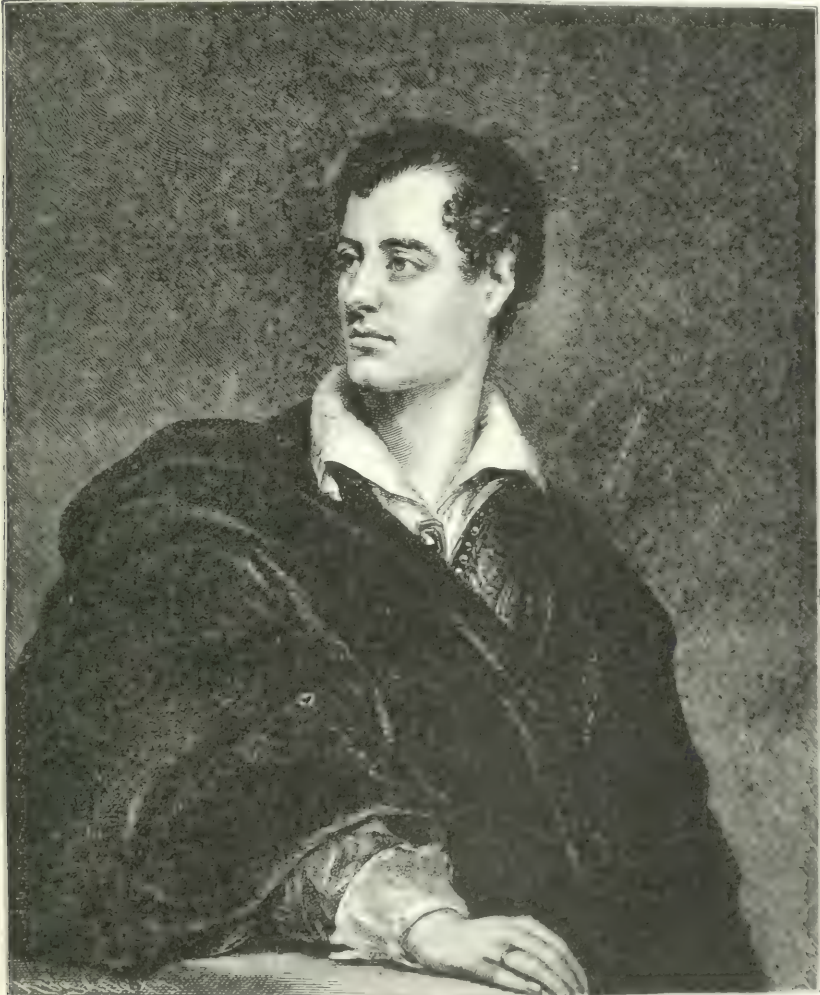


FIG. 16. — Lord Byron. From a steel engraving by Robert Graves (1798-1873), original painting by Thomas Phillips (1779-1846).

Tory ministry were unable to offer any resistance except stubborn opposition and the denial of all reforms. That party thus gave a fresh proof of the incapacity especially exhibited in its foreign policy. It had increased the burden of the debt from £228,000,000 to

£861,000,000, and there was also a chronic deficit. Added to all this, upon the throne was a weak-minded king, his oldest son and representative, the Prince Regent, being the greatest profligate and the vainest coxcomb in Europe. He, however, outdid all his previous shameless conduct, when, after the death of his father, on January 29, 1820, upon ascending the throne as George IV. (PLATE VI.), he took instant measures to rid himself of his hated consort by a scandalous suit for divorce. Ostensibly in a paroxysm of penitence over his sinful life, but in fact for the purpose of being freed from a debt of £600,000, he had consented, in the year 1794, to a marriage with his cousin Caroline of Brunswick; but after a daughter was born to them, on January 7, 1795, mutual aversion had led to a permanent separation of the husband and wife. She left England, and betook herself to travelling. When subsequently, instead of accepting the offer of an income to be spent abroad on condition of renouncing the rank and prerogatives of an English queen, she returned to England, the people received her with loud demonstrations of homage, and fresh attempts at accommodation failed on account of her unyielding disposition. The ministry, with the exception of Canning, who withdrew for this reason and went abroad, then yielded to the king's demand, and brought before the Upper House his suit for a divorce on account of her violation of marriage vows. The people, in their hatred of the government, saw in the mother of the recently (1817) deceased and greatly lamented Princess Charlotte, only a sacrifice to injustice; and since the Tories, her early friends, had abandoned her cause after her consort joined them, the Whigs, from motives of party policy, came forward as her defenders. Thanks to Brougham's brilliant speech in defence, there was only a majority of nine voices that affirmed the queen's guilt, whereupon the ministry, anticipating the action of the Lower House, withdrew the complaint, to the unbounded delight of the people, and to their own signal discomfiture. Happily the queen died on August 7, 1821.

This scandalous trial and Castlereagh's suicide were the death-knell of the Tory government. It was absolutely the last, in the anciently accepted sense of this term, which England has had. For while the cabinet yielded to the necessity of renovating itself by the infusion of fresh forces from the ranks of the more moderate Tories, not inflexibly hostile to certain reforms, it ingrafted upon itself and its entire party the germ of decay. The great upward



PLATE VI.



*By the Queen's Command*  
**George THE Fourth**

King George IV.

From a steel engraving by Samuel William Reynolds (1773-1835) (original painting by  
Thomas Phillips (1770-1845).

*History of All Nations, Vol. XVIII, page 2.*





movement by which Canning had freed the foreign policy of England from subserviency to the Holy Alliance found its counterpart, after the entrance of Robert Peel and W. Huskisson into the ministry, in the internal life of the state. To the improvement of the material situation the bank-act introduced by the former essentially contributed. This obliged the Bank of England to resume, step by step, payments in coin, which had been suspended by Pitt in 1797. After Peel, in the deliberations concerning these measures, had the courage to declare publicly that his convictions stood higher with him than the commands of party, and after he, in 1823, had assisted in securing a victory for Mackintosh's efforts to render the penalties of crime more humane, every year broke one stone more from the decaying, yet still defiant walls of Toryism. Huskisson, on his side, was the first to allow himself to be guided by the perception that the entire financial system of the state was in the wrong path, and that agriculture, manufactures, and trade, in order to be enabled to bear the burden of debt heaped up in and after the war, must be set free from the fetters to which the protective measures, devised in their behalf at an early day, had degenerated. The first important steps from the system of prohibition to that of reciprocity was in favor of North America, then of Prussia also, and of other states which had formerly resorted to retaliation. There followed the suppression of other monopolies and compulsory regulations, and, in the year 1825, a new tariff of imposts, the abolition of taxes on emigrants, and the grant of the right of association to laborers. These alleviations, being connected with the contemporaneous recognition of the South American republics, caused an extraordinary increase in industrial products, which appeared at first to degenerate speedily into extravagant speculations; and they produced one of the severest business crises which England has ever been called to surmount. But precisely the indescribable distress prevailing in the manufacturing districts furnished the opportunity for seeking at this time the abolition of the hated corn-laws. Very soon the landed proprietors were obliged to allow the free importation of a certain quantity of wheat, until the law, which had been delayed by the opposition of the Upper House, established a sliding scale of impost to be regulated by the average price of the wheat, instead of being a fixed duty as heretofore.

Immediately on this first success of the free trade party followed the attack upon the exclusive privileges of the aristocracy. To the

principles with regard to popular representation which had come into prevalence through the example of the United States and French constitutionalism, the English parliament stood in glaring contrast. The right to send representatives to the Lower House had ever rested upon a royal grant to designated corporations; but since this ancient prerogative of the crown had for centuries fallen into disuse, the great cities of more recent origin were either without representation or represented inadequately, and, on the contrary, other places, that had almost disappeared from the face of the earth, now as formerly sent their representatives to the House of Commons. The 10 southern counties, with less than 3,000,000 inhabitants, had almost as many representatives as the 40 counties of the north, with their dense industrial population of 8,500,000 souls, the former sending 237, the latter 252 representatives. Of 513 members for England and Wales, 254 were chosen by less than 11,500 voters, and 56 by some 700 voters. Of these 56, one had a body of electors of 38 souls, while 6 had each but three constituents. This irrational condition in most instances allowed the dominant aristocracy to transform the election into a simple nomination. The Lower House had become an hereditary institution of the great families, who were accustomed to give the seats to their sons; the Duke of Norfolk had 11 seats in parliament at his disposal, and Lord Lonsdale 9. In Ireland the clergy shared with the lords of the soil the control of elections. Even the deputies of the cities were chosen only through the magistrates, who again named their own successors. The election often became purely a money transaction, and it happened that a borough gave its representation to the highest bidder. At times, during election week, bribery and acts of violence were perpetrated as matters of course. After the corn-duties were taken off, there awoke the consciousness, induced by the rising consequence and intelligence of the middle class, of the importance for the people at large of a greater share in the representation; and however little the Whigs as well as the Tories desired a radical parliamentary reform, yet several of the younger Liberals, such as Lord John Russell, were urgent for the removal of some particularly crying abuses, and succeeded so far that in the year 1823 a seat was taken from the Cornwall borough of Grampound, and conferred upon the county of York. Small as was this first success, yet the precedent thus created constituted the first real step in the path of parliamentary reform, whose indefatigable champion Russell ever after remained.

A disproportionately more violent conflict was kindled concerning the so-called Catholic emancipation. However justifiable in the seventeenth century may have been the exclusion of Roman Catholics from political rights, when many of them as supporters of the Stuarts were opposed to the government, it now directly contradicted the modern principle of religious toleration.

The emancipation of the Catholics was Pitt's proposal at the time of the Union of Ireland with Great Britain. The measures, looking to this end, which Grattan repeatedly brought before Parliament subsequently to 1804, had the fate of being rejected on every occasion; yet the opposing majority grew less from year to year, and the renewed proposals by Plunkett, Francis Burdett, and Canning failed only from the continued opposition of the House of Lords. It was finally the situation of Ireland that overcame this opposition. Here the question was not simply ecclesiastical, but social and ethnological. There the confessional parties stood over against each other as different races, as subjects and lords. The supremacy of the Anglican Church was to the Irish a badge of the foreign domination. While almost the entire landed property was in the hands of English nobles, who never trod the soil of the island, the Catholic Irish, seven-eighths of the population, were perishing. Of 7,000,000 of Irish in 1825, 1,000,000 lived by begging and stealing. The Protestants sought to confirm their supremacy over the island by secret lodges of Orangemen. The first who engaged in an open conflict against the English was Daniel O'Connell. Educated in hatred of heretics by the Dominicans at Louvain, and the Jesuits at St.-Ouen, endowed by nature in a peculiar degree with all the qualities requisite for the agitator, this man speedily became the idol of his fellow-countrymen, and in 1823 founded the Catholic Association, whose democratic organization repelled neither the Catholic nobility nor the higher clergy from joining it. Prohibition of the association remained a dead letter, for it immediately appeared again under another form.

The Upper House stubbornly persisted in its opposition to every concession to the Catholics; but after Lord Liverpool's death it came to a crisis over this question between the Wellington and the Canning parties in the ministry. Canning formed a coalition ministry from the moderate elements of both parties, to the great dissatisfaction of the extremists among his Tory associates, who overwhelmed him with the most violent invectives and attacks. Although very ill, he



rallied his strength, and appeared in the House of Commons to confront his accusers. Three months later (August 8, 1827), at the age of only fifty-six years, he died in consequence of his labors. But his legacy remained, the ruin of the Tory party, and the erection of the great Liberal party, which more and more gained the ability to direct affairs. Wellington, it is true, formed once more a purely Tory cabinet: but it was just this ministry which was selected to bring to pass Catholic emancipation. After the renewed declaration of the Irish bishops that the Catholic church did not teach the infallibility of the Pope had broken the point of the chief pretext, namely, the dread of Papal encroachments, the abolition of the corporation and test acts in favor of all Nonconformists, proposed by John Russell, was passed by both Houses. But O'Connell only formed the resolution to show to the Tories that the patience of the abused Irish people was exhausted. Although as a Catholic not eligible, he came forward as a candidate at a new election in the county of Clare, and was chosen, to the boundless joy of Irishmen, and to the extreme perplexity of Protestants. So strained was the situation that the choice lay only between yielding, or an insurrection of Ireland; and in presence of a civil war even Wellington's dauntless soldier's heart recoiled. In order not to give over the power of government to the Whigs, he prevailed upon himself to carry through the inevitable, and to give to it the whole weight of his authority. On April 13, 1829, the bill which opened to the Catholics parliament, and, with a few exceptions, all state offices, was signed by the king.

It was not with all Tories simply sectarian narrowness which made them opponents of emancipation. Many were decided by the consideration that with this measure the flood-gate would be raised, and through it reforms would be poured forth incessantly upon church and state. In truth, this act indicated the passing away of Old England, and the beginning of a new epoch of development for the English state, which was to be continued after the revolution of July by a second great reform.

## CHAPTER V.

GERMANY FROM 1823 TO 1830.

IF an experience for many hundred years in the public discharge of public affairs enabled the British nation to finish successfully the struggle for reforms by means of the energetic and finally irresistible declaration of the popular will, a similar event was not conceivable among the German people, who were destitute alike of such experience and of the organ that should express and represent the public life. While the parliaments in the South German states served their governments as a defence against the two great powers as well as against the Confederacy, and imparted to their states the deceptive appearance of real political bodies capable of living by their own strength, they became rather the chief defenders of the particularist sentiment in their respective populations. The more unacceptable the system pursued by the leading powers, the greater was the facility with which the overestimate of these parliamentary contrivances was developed. The constitutional Southwest Germany ranked itself more and more as the land of freedom in contrast with absolute Prussia, which had left its promise of a constitution unfulfilled. As spokesman of this sentiment, no less a person presented himself than King William of Würtemberg. In a tone of extreme hatred toward that same Prussia which five years before had freed Germany from the yoke of the foreigner, South Germany was said by him to be the only true Germany. In this respect the Confederation of the Rhine, apart from dependence upon France, was a benefit. Bavaria and Würtemberg, in the Congress of Vienna, had been the only supports of the national interest. On the contrary, the German Confederation, which had no other object than to assure the influence of Austria and Prussia over Germany, was incompatible with the self-existence and independence of the German states.

Such ideas were not merely the outgrowth of prejudiced views regarding sovereignty on the part of members of the Confederation of the Rhine. Men with liberal feelings, such as von Wangenheim,

the representative of Würtemberg in the diet of the German Confederation, felt in the same way. But how utterly this party failed to comprehend the most weighty and vital national questions was shown in the negotiations respecting the war constitution of the Confederation, which was finally brought to a conclusion on April 9, 1821. The independent plan proposed by Prussia did not pass. It contemplated the division of the military forces according to position north and south, and the union of the small contingents to those of the great powers; but the assembly laid down the principle that no confederated state, furnishing a full army corps, should incorporate foreign troops with its contingent, in order that, according to the equality of rights and duties recognized as fundamental, even the semblance of supremacy on the part of one confederated state over the others should be avoided. A commander-in-chief, with the assembly of the Confederation as sole authority over him, should be appointed only in time of war. In order to limit the military preponderance of the two great powers, the middle states carried the point, that each of the former should contribute to the army of the Confederacy only three army corps; Austria to furnish 95,000 men, and Prussia 80,000 men. As regards the remainder, in all 120,000 men, Bavaria was to supply the seventh army corps; the eighth should be made up from the other South German states; the ninth from Saxony, Thuringia, the electorate of Hesse, Nassau, and Luxemburg; and the tenth from Hanover and the small states of Lower Germany combined. Without similarity as to rules, calibre of arms, uniforms, and marks of grade, without practice in common, without one arrangement at any time to awaken a common spirit, it happened fortunately to this army of the Confederacy never to be placed in the field against a foreign foe. Although in 1815 6,000,000 francs were appropriated from the French war indemnity for the building of confederate fortresses to protect the German frontier on the west, it required repeated pressure on the part of Prussia before the Confederation consented to assume Mayence, Landau, and Luxemburg as its fortresses, and to do at least so much as was necessary "to prevent the further decay of the same." Bavaria, of the 15,000,000 received for Germersheim, up to the year 1830, applied only 167,000 florins; and the 20,000,000 appropriated for the construction of a fourth Confederate fortress continued to lie with Rothschild in Frankfort at two per cent interest, because it could not be agreed whether Rastatt or Ulm should be chosen.

This war arrangement was a triumph won by the small kingdoms, with Austria's favor, over Prussia. As soon, however, as these, without Austrian support, ventured in the field of politics upon opposition to the great powers, they perceived their own weakness. Blinded by the rôle which he had played after the Vienna conferences, the king of Württemberg felt himself called, in a circular despatch of January 2, 1823, to guard the states of the second rank against the wardship which a circular issued from Verona by the eastern powers appeared to claim; and when the Emperor Alexander sought the assent of the assembly to the conclusions of the congress, the king caused it to be moved that they agreed to the 'views,' and not to the 'proposals and measures' of the congress. The liberal world thereupon praised him as the defender of European liberty; but Metternich availed himself immediately of the indiscreet action of the king in order to withdraw from him the cover given by his imperial brother-in-law. Well acquainted with the disgust already entertained for the constitutional system at Munich and Carlsruhe, he then summoned his confidants among German ministers to another conference at Vienna, January, 1823, for the purpose of laying before them his plans for rendering ineffectual the provisions adopted to secure constitutional institutions. That he found no sympathy in this was again eminently the merit of Count Bernstorff, who opposed an invincible resistance to an unfriendly interpretation of Confederate law. On the other hand, the Prussian minister declared his assent to the proposed purging of the assembly, with whose performance people at Berlin had so little reason to be edified. In the bosom of this assembly Wangenheim had excited fresh indignation by presenting a report concerning the complaints of the purchasers of the Westphalian domain that had been pending for years, in which he developed an opinion favorable to the rights of the complainants. The diet of the Confederation was subjected to a fundamental 'epuration,' and to the Confederation 'the second portion of Karlsbad water was poured out.' Wangenheim and the two liberal Hessians, Harnier and Lepell, were recalled. The dull and narrow Buol-Schauenstein was replaced in the presidency by the energetic Münch-Bellinghausen, who soon acquired a dictatorial power over the assembly. In order not to be wholly extinguished, the Prussian government substituted for its delegate von der Goltz, the Postmaster-General von Nagler, strongly conservative in his sentiments, yet distrustful and vigilant as regards Vienna.



Now first was Metternich's supremacy over Germany complete, and the nominal sovereignty of the confederated states had become actual subjection to Austria. At Johannisberg, his magnificent residence on the Rhine, he gathered about himself a formal congress of German and foreign diplomatists, who reverently listened to his oracular sayings. The outcome of these consultations was the indefinite prolongation (August 16, 1824) of the Karlsbad Decrees. The change was felt immediately by the nobility of Holstein, who had applied to the diet of the Confederation, in a petition drawn up by their secretary, Dahlmann, for the protection of their constitutional rights against the arbitrary imposition of taxes by the Danish government. If the question of law was not absolutely clear, yet that it was a complaint of subjects against their government was enough for this purged assembly to see in the petitioners only revolutionists, and to repulse them, "since the fictitious existence of this constitution is not to be acknowledged" (November 27, 1823). A second memorial from Dahlmann, which the president-deputy seized without delay, gave occasion for a decree which subjected to censorship every printed memorial addressed to the diet. In the matter also of the Hessian purchasers of public domains, the body declared its incompetency (December 11). This now became the rule for all complaints addressed to it. The publication of the record of the Confederation was almost entirely suspended after July 1, 1824. Ever incapable of accomplishing anything useful, remarkable only for its hostility to everything national or favorable to liberty, the diet of the Confederation fell into universal contempt.

With this disappointment of the most decided wishes of the nation, there came over the German people a deep depression and discouragement. To be occupied with politics began to be regarded as something disreputable, and whoever still retained an interest in political affairs turned his attention away from conditions at home to foreign countries. The literature of the day, whose discussion of German topics was rendered impossible by the censorship, devoted itself the more earnestly to those popular struggles in which it saw the dawn of liberty again breaking. But above all the eye of Germany was captivated by constitutional France. Hardly ten years before, Germans had fêted the czar as the great deliverer from the Corsican tyrant; but now France, with her charter, with the rousing debates of the chambers, the dazzling talents of journalists, was praised and admired as the model that comprehended the sum of all

patriotic desires. National hatred of the western hereditary foe had completely disappeared. The arm of Germany had broken the military dictatorship of France, but the German mind bowed itself willingly before her influence. With the growth of particularism there was a return to the worship of Napoleon on the part of the states of the former Confederation of the Rhine. Blücher and Stein, Scharnhorst and Gneisenau, had become almost forgotten names to poetry, while in their stead Zedlitz, Heine, and W. Hauff lauded Napoleon, the merciless oppressor of their country.

The only thing which still brought to mind the past great literary period was the unpolitical tendency of literature which specially pertained to this epoch. It was no longer poetry, however, that ruled men's mind; for in general the literature of the period bore the same impress of narrowness which clove to Germany in all its relationships. The wants of the reading public were sufficiently supplied by a mass of belles-lettres, indescribably superficial, as the best of this class of people revelled in Jean Paul Richter's formless *Weltschmerz*, and fancied that to be idealism which was only a literary vagueness. The decline of the drama represented in the caricatures of Zachariah Werner, in Adam Müllner's and Houwald's tragedies of destiny, could not be arrested either by the two Austrians, Franz Grillparzer and Ferdinand Raimund, or by Raupach's dramatized history of the emperor. These very years, making all deductions, were none of them lost with respect to the development and elevation of German intellect. The office which poetry could no longer control was assumed by science, which at this time enjoyed one of its most flourishing epochs. In this domain the national impulse found its place after being driven from public life; and yet at the same time the complete absence of invidious contrasts between different nations permitted a peaceful emulation and exchange of intellectual acquirements. No other epoch has shown in the province of historical investigation such a similar abundance of fundamental labors as the first decades of this century. The brothers Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm and K. Lachmann laid the foundation of the scientific study of the mother tongue. The last published the *Nibelungen*, translated by K. Simrock into the New High German; and Jakob Grimm, by his German grammar (1819), created the science of historical grammar. Franz Bopp was the founder of another new science, that of comparative philology, which Wilhelm Humboldt also enriched. Antiquity became once more a living thing, after F. A.

Wolf, in his *Prolegomena ad Homerum* (1795), had taught an entirely new method of regarding the poetry of the people. Niebuhr's (Fig. 17) *History of Rome* formed the transition to the new school of historical composition, and A. Boeckh applied the same method to ancient Greece. The investigation of the past history of the country obtained for the first time a firm basis by means of the Society



BERTOLDUS GEORGIUS NIEBUHR

CARSTENII FILIUS, DITMARSO HOLSATUS

*Actus Helveticæ XIII. Aug. MDCCCXXXI. a Martiano Donnæ II. f. 620ccccc.*

FIG. 17. — Niebuhr. From the steel engraving made at Rome in 1831 by Ferdinand Ruscheweyh (1785–1845); original drawing, 1823, by Julius Schnorr (1794–1872).

for the Investigation of the Earlier History of Germany, formed (1819) at the suggestion of Stein. To it we owe the collection and critical publication of original documents in the *Monumenta Germaniæ*; and Friedrich von Raumer (Fig. 18), by his history of the Hohenstaufens, opened to view still wider circles in the past greatness and glory of the German people. Savigny showed, in opposition to Rousseau's doctrine of natural law, that law is something historical that has grown and is growing. Leopold von Ranke (Fig. 19), the

greatest master of German historical composition, taught the thoughtful reader to grasp the historical process in its entirety. In philosophy Hegel produced a system embracing the complete domain of science, which enjoyed a consideration attained by no other system. As in Hegel philosophy was embodied, so was the science of nature in Alexander von Humboldt, who, having returned from his travels in the east and in South America, called into life the knowledge of the earth, in the comprehensive import of that name; and to him

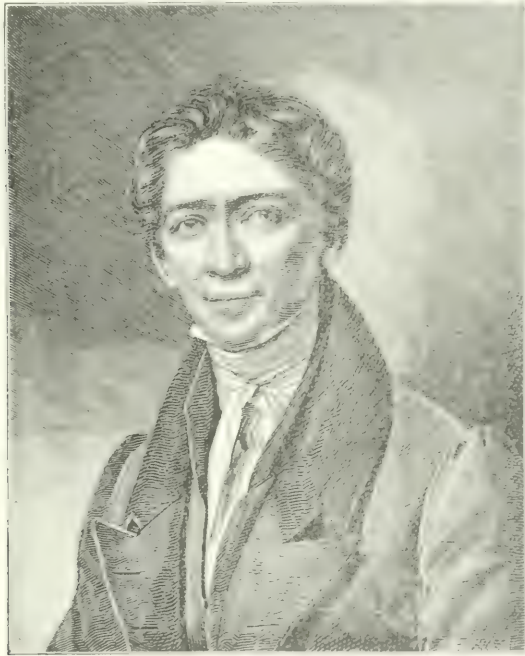


FIG. 18. — Friedrich von Raumer. From a lithograph by Werner; original drawing by Franz Krüger (1797-1861).

foreign lands looked as the most honored and renowned representative of German science.

Now, as in former times, it was the body of scholars, teachers in the universities, who undertook the intellectual leadership of the nation. It was in the German Society for the Investigation of Nature, founded by Oken, and meeting at Berlin in 1828, under the presidency of Alexander von Humboldt (Fig. 20), where for the first time that body learned to feel itself a national organization. It was a great error propagated at home and abroad by this extraordinary rise of the sciences, to believe that it is the destiny of Germans



to remain a people of thinkers without political existence. It was from science in particular, and not from the company of statesmen and politicians, that the revival of German national spirit emanated.



FIG. 19. — Leopold von Ranke. From a copper-plate engraving by H. Sachs ; original painting by J. Schrader (born 1815).

Art also, awaking out of a long slumber, took the same national direction. After the plundering of churches and monasteries at the time of the French supremacy, a great number of pieces of statuary

had come to light; and then men of taste and patriotism, who recognized the worth of these treasures, did what lay in their power to save them from oblivion. In this regard Bertram and the brothers Boisserée at Heidelberg acquired imperishable honor. In like manner, proceeding from the Romantic school, enthusiasm for the art of the Middle Ages took root in the company of German artists at Rome, the so-called *Nazarenes*, Overbeck, Voss, W. Schadow,



FIG. 20. — A. Schadow. — Portrait of J. G. Schadow. — G. F. Schadow. 1800. 1874. — good, published by G. F. Schadow 1878-9.

and Cornelius. Soon, however, art opened for itself hospitable abodes at home in the two cities of Munich and Berlin. In the former the art-loving crown-prince, from 1825 King Louis of Bavaria, purposed to revive on this side of the Alps the Athens of Pericles, to whose adornment architecture, sculpture, and painting should contribute. And thus arose, under the direction of L. Klenze, the Pinakothek and the Glyptothek, the adornment of which by paintings was the first work of Cornelius on German soil. In

Schwanthaler he found the sculptor to execute his ideas, and it was at his suggestion chiefly that Heideloff was invited to restore the beautiful but long despised mediæval buildings in the Upper German cities. With greater regard to the limited means of the state, King Frederick William III. had already been able to provide occasions for carrying on the works of art begun at Berlin under his predecessor by Schinkel and Schadow, but interrupted by the war. The museum, the new guard-house, and the new theatre showed the skill with which Schinkel was able to convert the forms of Grecian art to the uses of modern architecture. Sculpture here celebrated its revival by Rauch's magnificent tomb of Queen Louise. To the same artist came the great harvest of glorifying in bronze the grand heroic characters of Prussian history. The removal of his place of labor from Carrara to Berlin, in the year 1819, constituted the evident commencement of the Berlin school of sculpture, which for a decade gave light to all activity in that direction throughout Germany. G. Schadow's statue of Blücher in Rostock was the first casting executed in Germany. He also was the maker of the monument to Luther at Wittenberg, and of the monument of Victory on the Kreuzberg (1818). Painting obtained an abode in the academy re-established in 1822, and conducted at Düsseldorf by Cornelius, Bendemann, and Schadow; and from it arose and flourished a distinct school of painters.

With this rise of the formative arts, music was everywhere closely connected. It was first lifted up to an independent existence by Sebastian Bach, Haydn, and Mozart; and it then rose with Beethoven, the unsurpassed master of instrumentation, to be the most complete expression of the depths of German feeling, so that from him onward German music has received and maintained uncontrolled leadership in this domain of art. The opera was conquered for it by K. M. von Weber, the composer of *Freischütz*; and Franz Schubert, by perfecting the German song, bestowed on his people a precious national blessing.

In all this one discovers everywhere a wealth of aspiring forces, of fruitful endeavors, of intellectual progress. But to the ideas, a body was lacking, and to the national spirit, a state for the nation. A first ray of light seemed to be cast upon the darkness of the political horizon by the accession to the throne of King Louis I., of Bavaria. The brilliant prince was already known in the Napoleonic period as the 'Teutonic' patriot. His first acts of government, the



suppression of the censorship and the invitation of Schelling, Görres, and other learned men — not Bavarian — to the university transplanted from Landshut to the fresher atmosphere of Munich, and the elevation of his capital, through science and art, to the position of a great German seat of culture, appeared to justify the hopes placed in him; yet of these none in effect were fulfilled. The liberalism of the king quickly passed into autocratic capriciousness which brooked no differing opinion; and he managed, in spite of constitution and diets, to act without restraint, and made no scruple of allowing the military interests of the country to go to ruin in order to provide funds for his stately buildings (Fig. 21).



FIG. 21. — The Bavarian Ruhmeshalle (or Hall of Fame) at Munich, built in 1842 by L. von Klenze, with "Bavaria" cast in bronze by F. von Miller (1844-1847) from Schwanthaler's model (1837-1842).

That the political regeneration of Germany could proceed only from the state to which alone this name in its full meaning belonged, was at first clear to only a few individuals. But Prussia, to the smaller states, had become an object of distrust, while they perceived in Austria the shield of their dynastic interests. With this feeling of the governments, that of the people in general corresponded, inasmuch as the same Prussia had left unfulfilled the most solemn promise of a constitution. And yet within the North German state those forces were already at work which were destined at a later day to aid in building up the national state. Metternich, who was accustomed to speak of Prussian statesmen in disdainful terms, was



led to perceive, much to his chagrin, that Prussia was venturing gradually to depart from the absolute passivity to foreign matters which it had imposed on itself on account of conscious exhaustion.

The Prussian ruling circles still kept themselves altogether at a distance from the paroxysms of German patriotism. But with unwearied assiduity labor was bestowed, by the most conscientious administration, upon the relief of the internal condition of the country. The establishment of a special ministry of worship and public education was admirably effected under Altenstein, for the improvement of the school system by means of the introduction of provincial colleges, and the diffusion of the methods of Pestalozzi. The establishment of business and polytechnic schools, of which the first came into existence at Berlin in 1824 upon an impulse given by Benth, indicated the newly awakened feeling of need, which was closely connected with the universal remodelling of economical relations. Since the means of transportation previously employed no longer sufficed for the requirements of modern intercourse, the construction of turnpikes was promoted to such a degree that their extent was increased between 1817 and 1825 from 2550 to 5200 miles. In Prussia, Nagler became the postal reformer; and, from 1825, the post-coach went from Berlin to Frankfort twice every week: and after the suppression of the intermediate postage, the number of letters sent was doubled. After Bremen and Hamburg had employed several steamships, and there was a regular service of postal steamers on the Baltic, the first German river navigation by steam commenced on the Oder in 1822, and three years later on the Rhine.

Into the path, however, which, by means of the Zollverein ('customs union'), led to the consummation of national unity, Prussia was brought, not voluntarily, but by the compulsion of necessity.

A severe economical crisis of a twofold nature broke over Germany immediately after the close of the war. Upon the sudden filling up of the market with English manufactures, which, being sold off at prices below cost, rendered competition by German houses impossible, there followed the famine year of 1817, caused by the bad harvests that afflicted nearly the whole of Europe. In the universal helplessness, Würtemberg brought before the Confederation a proposal for the execution of Article 19 of the act adopted by it, which stipulated for consultations between the members of the body with regard to trade and commerce. In order to meet the necessity of

the moment, the committee, in making their report, proposed the removal of all restrictions on traffic in grain from October 1, 1817, and after; but this could not be carried through against the remonstrances of Bavaria and Mecklenburg. This experience and others had produced the effect of leaving behind them a conviction of the necessity of a joint financial system for Germany. No one had labored for this purpose with more zeal and patriotic enthusiasm than Friedrich List, professor at Tübingen till 1818, and then authorized representative of the union of merchants and manufacturers founded by him.

While elsewhere no progress was made beyond words, Prussia saw herself urged to action by the disorder in the state finances. The income from the public domain and the direct taxes, notwithstanding the most rigid economy and the cutting down of the army in actual service to 120,000 men, was not sufficient to defray expenses, together with the heavy burden of interest due on the war-debt. Since the king utterly rejected the dishonorable expedient of repudiation, the financial embarrassment suggested the plan of securing a greater income to the state by the arrangement of the tariff of imports. The untenableness of the previous condition was evident. In the districts of Old Prussia, 67 tariffs and 2776 classes of goods prevailed. The intercourse between town and country, and from province to province, was impeded by a multitude of intermediate duties, not merely on the part of lords of the soil, but such also as were imposed by cities and corporations and even by private persons. The western provinces admitted foreign fabrics entirely or nearly free; and on the right bank of the Elbe prohibitory duties existed, and smuggling flourished. The opinion made progress that the prohibitory system was not suited to Prussia. On June 11, 1816, an act was passed removing all the intermediate customs-duties, and transferring them to the frontiers, whereby a uniform tariff was established for a territory with 10,000,000 of inhabitants. The new tariff-law of May 20, 1818, prepared by K. G. Maassen, director-general of taxes, a pupil of Adam Smith, and one of the most distinguished officers ever possessed by Prussia, now threw open the entire territory of the state to all foreign products of nature and art, with the two exceptions of salt and playing-cards, allowed exportation to everything produced at home, and established for commercial intercourse and commercial treaties with foreign nations the principle of rigorous reciprocity. Raw materials and foreign manufactures

factures should pay an entrance duty of ten per cent, and colonial goods up to twenty per cent.

Industry received an astonishing development, commerce was more lively than ever, and the taxes provided an increasing revenue. In the year 1821 Maassen was already able to advance to a further



FIG. 22.— K. G. Maassen, Director-General of Taxes. Marble bust in the Royal Ministry of Finance at Berlin.

reduction of those duties which were still retained only for the purpose of allowing domestic industry gradually to gain strength. Under the blessing of the new system, Prussia began to draw breath again. But the country could not remain at this stage. On account of the severed and scattered nature of her territory, Prussia was in



the necessity of opening the path for a common German policy in matters of traffic. But perceiving the impossibility of a financial union of the entire Confederation, Prussia's plan was to approach this final aim step by step, by forming separate treaties with her neighbors, and at first only in order to draw into her tariff-system her Thuringian enclosed district of one thousand square miles. With this view, the government negotiated with Schwarzburg-Sondershausen; and on October 25, 1819, there was executed with this little state the first treaty of accession to this tariff-system, the model for all that followed; the receipts were to be divided between the allied parties in proportion to the population. Not till three years had passed did Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt make bold to follow the example of her cousin. In the year 1823 two of the Weimar boards and the upper duchy of Anhalt-Bernburg also acceded.

On the other hand, neighbors disturbed in their accustomed intercourse on account of the existing rigor in watching the frontier, and especially those implicated in smuggling, raised a loud outcry at the Prussian customs-law, and desired its abolition. The elector of Hesse even opened a regular tariff war, while he forbade the entrance and transit of many Prussian goods, or imposed heavy duties on them; but he was speedily compelled by the desolate condition of his roads to put down the duties. The duke of Anhalt-Köthen, who, on the invitation to accede, had haughtily refused, made his little territory, which was encompassed by Prussian customs-lines, the seat of a vast amount of smuggling, which injured Prussia to the extent of more than 500,000 thalers every year; and von Marschall, the minister of Nassau, was already discerning with justice the connection of this union "with the highly dangerous doctrine of German unity." But public opinion also took sides with the adversaries of Prussia. A patriot as upright as F. List saw in the Prussian tariff law the source of ruin; and the German Commercial Union accompanied its memorial to the diet of the Confederation, regarding the removal of the intermediate duties, with the bitterest complaints against that law. At the Vienna conferences the universal wrath was finally discharged; and it was felt that Prussia ought to be compelled to give up her new trade-system, which evidently conflicted with Article 19 of the act of the Confederacy. But Bernstorff opposed this assault, which had sprung up partly from ill-will and partly from want of reflection. The categorical declina-



tion that the Prussian tariff law was not to be touched, and the utter want of definite counter-proposals, made it easy for him to maintain his position. The Badenese councillor of state, Nebenius, indeed submitted to the conference propositions relating to the suppression of all separate tariff laws, and a system of duties by the Confederation; but even if the dissimilarity existing in the internal taxes on articles of consumption had not constituted an insuperable obstacle to such an arrangement, it would have failed on account of jealousies and dissensions among the confederated states.

But Prussia's adversaries, being compelled to this course by necessity, quietly prepared to tread the same path — that of special treaties — for which they had assailed her with such vehement reproaches. Upon the suggestion of du Thil, the minister of Darmstadt, and of von Berstedt, the Baden minister, negotiations were opened at Darmstadt on September 13, 1820, between Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, the two Hesses, Nassau, and the Thuringian states. But here, too, the result was a miserable one. Amid mutual animosities and narrow-minded, petty jealousies, they made no progress whatever; and Metternich, who had been contemplating the universal grudging spirit toward Prussia with quiet, malicious satisfaction, began to fear in this combination a strengthening of the constitutional opposition in the assembly of the Confederation. After the elector of Hesse and the Thuringians had already, in 1822, begun separate consultations at Arnstadt, Hesse-Darmstadt, tired of the fruitless negotiation, left it: Nassau and Bavaria followed; and thus the conference left behind it nothing but the experience gained by its members of their inability to establish independently a general regulation of imposts.

Simultaneously, from 1819, the ten states on the Elbe were holding conferences at Dresden, for the purpose of liberating this stream also — as had already been effected for the Rhine and Weser — from the absurd customs-duties. On July 23, 1821, the Elbe navigation acts took effect; but Prussia sought to avail herself of this opportunity to put an end to the injurious smuggling in Anhalt, and subscribed to the regulations after the three dukes of Anhalt had promised to accede to the Prussian system. Upon this, however, the duke of Köthen, being advised by Adam Müller, the Austrian consul-general at Leipsic, was able to change again his cousins of Dessau and Bernburg; and advantage was taken of the navigation of the Elbe, now set free, to carry on the smuggling more extensively than ever.



PLATE VII.



Louis I., King of Bavaria.

Reduced facsimile of an engraving by F. Forster (1790-1872); original painting by J. Stieler (1781-1858).

*History of All Nations, Vol. XVIII., page 113.*

When Prussia proceeded to surround the small territory with customs-stations, the duke made complaint in the diet of the Confederation; and the hands of all were thus stretched forth in order to prepare for this power a defeat that should be felt. But Prussia did not allow herself to be perplexed by anything; and when her patience was exhausted, she shut up the Elbe above and below Anhalt by customs-stations. Immediately the duke again turned to the diet, but this time no support came to him from Vienna; and thus Dessau and Köthen, on July 17, 1828, reluctantly acceded to the Prussian customs-system, as Bernburg had already done before them.

Provisionally there now occurred a pause in the development of the Zollverein. Made wiser by the experience that anticipation only stirred up the jealousy of the dynasties, Prussia resolved henceforth to wait until the neighbors should come of themselves. Besides, there was enough to do in regulating the finances of Prussia as well as her business relations with neighbors outside of Germany. Denmark continued to collect the sound-toll without any warrant in international law; and Russia, even in 1822, under the administration of the Finance Minister Cancrin, in violation of existing treaties, closed her frontiers by a rigorous prohibition system. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, von Motz, appointed minister of finance (1825) in place of Klewitz, succeeded, by means of judicious reforms, in removing the chronic deficit.

Meanwhile, since the failure of the conference of Darmstadt, there prevailed among the South German states nothing but dissension and exasperation on all sides. Not till after the accession of Louis I. (PLATE VII.) to the throne did there occur frequent negotiations between Bavaria and Würtemberg; and these led to the conclusion of a Zollverein which was destined to expand into one 'purely German.' But of the neighbors who were invited, only two, the Hohenzollerns, came into the measure, while the three courts on the Upper Rhine, little disposed to be subordinate to Bavaria's leadership, refused. Two important results, however, appeared from the union of Bavaria and Würtemberg; it showed the inability of the states of Upper Germany to bring about a union for themselves alone; and it also manifested the possibility of creating a Zollverein without detriment to sovereignty. Both contributed to the result that Hesse-Darmstadt suddenly changed front. The first overtures made by du Thil to form a treaty respecting trade encountered, however, several



scruples at Berlin. The principle had there been adopted to advance only from frontier to frontier, and thus to abridge gradually the customs-limits; but these would be lengthened by the acceptance of Hesse-Darmstadt from 4900 to 5500 miles, while the territory of the Zollverein would be increased only 3700 square miles. But it fell to Eichhorn, now privy councillor in the ministry of foreign affairs, to overcome the financial difficulty by pointing to the high political significance of the matter. So Prussia declined the proposed treaty concerning trade, but offered a complete customs-union; and on February 14, 1828, the memorable treaty was signed by which Hesse-Darmstadt acceded to the Prussian Zollverein. Perceiving that subjection to the Prussian customs-supremacy could not be exacted of the sovereignties of Middle Germany, Prussia, after the example given in the case of Bavaria and Würtemberg, made the concession which presently became the main principles of the existing Zollverein legislation,—the equal rights of the members, the independent administration of the customs, and the division of the receipts according to population. As a counterpoise to these privileges, Prussia reserved only the right of giving notice of the cessation of the treaty at the expiration of six years.

In all places, and in public opinion also, the Prusso-Hessian treaty excited nothing but anger or astonishment. King Louis, who had flattered himself till lately with the hope of the success of the South German treaty, under the directorship of Bavaria, was so discontented by this result that he called for the interposition of France. The situation of the states of Middle Germany was rendered utterly untenable, and the alarm in Dresden was extremely great. Hitherto Saxony, owing principally to the central position of Leipsic, paid homage to the principle of entire freedom of trade, and by the closing of its avenues of traffic it believed itself to be a second time menaced by Prussia in its very existence. To avert this extremity, the Saxon government conceived the plan of forming a third union with the electorate of Hesse and Thuringia, which should insert itself as a wedge between the two Zollvereins, and prevent their connection. On May 24, 1828, the commercial union of Middle Germany was concluded at Cassel, in which, besides the three states named, Hanover also concurred, in order to open a way duty-free into the interior for English merchandise. Brunswick, Nassau, Frankfort, and Bremen also acceded. The members pledged themselves, until December 31, 1834, to accede to no foreign customs

system, and to conclude no trade or customs treaty with a state in which such a system existed; but of a common system of duties among them, or of any serious reforms whatever, not a word was said. At the very outset the necessary money and the necessary agreement were wanting for the roads that must be built in order to go round the Prussian territory; and the rejoicing that had begun over the opposition movement quickly became speechless.

But Prussia accepted the gauntlet that was thrown down. Motz, a sworn enemy of the policy of the small states, would have refused even any indulgence to the adversaries, had not the king set value on maintaining a good understanding with Austria and with the Confederation. Yet he was the first to strike upon the fortunate suggestion, whether Prussia might not go round the opposing neighbors, and over the Middle German Union form a connection with the South German States. The reception which he met in Munich and Stuttgart almost exceeded expectation, for in these cities they had become convinced that their own work could not live. On May 27, 1828, at Berlin, the treaty was brought to a conclusion by which both unions pledged themselves, till 1841, to reciprocal freedom from duties for all inland productions of nature, of industry, and of art. They engaged, furthermore, to bring their tariff systems gradually into closer agreement, and every year to hold conferences respecting customs duties. This was not a blending together as yet, but it was a very important approximation. The aim of the Middle German Union was foiled; but it made a feeble attempt to maintain itself, and by a new treaty of October 11, 1829, it extended the obligation to accede to no foreign union till 1841. But already defection was making a rent in the ranks of this union. Meiningen and Gotha, and afterwards the two principalities of Reuss also, not merely refused approval, but even promised, at the expiration of the period for which they were pledged, to accede either to the Prussian or to the Bavarian union.

The importance of the decision, entered into under forms that were insignificant and with such antecedents, remained, indeed, for the most part hidden from a generation which as yet was not under the developed influence of a daily press, and to which, on account of the slowness, the inconvenience, and the infrequency of communication between one place and another, opinion and sympathy in favor of general public interests had not yet been disclosed. The authors of the Zollverein itself were, however, even then fully persuaded of

the significance of their work; for they perceived that unity in traffic must lead to equality and finally to unity of the political system. Already the final issue of the customs-war could be foreseen, but for its consummation there were needed the overturnings which occurred only in the wake of the Revolution of July.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF FRANCE FROM 1815 TO 1830.

THE conflict enkindled between the old and the new ideas, since the political readjustments of 1815, had nowhere run so remarkable a course as in France. The constraining force of circumstances, rather than the will of the conquerors, had brought the Bourbons again to the throne, in the year 1814. Notwithstanding all difficulties, the possibility of a gradual coalescing of the two opposing principles, that of the ante-revolutionary order of affairs and that of the constitutional system, was not precluded, if Napoleon's audacious and criminal return from Elba had not destroyed the first movements in that direction. The remembrance of that accursed episode was the evil demon that malignantly frustrated every approximation, every agreement, between the two parties. The Liberals, who during the Hundred Days had entered into an alliance with Napoleonism, found themselves at this time forced into the position of an anti-dynastic opposition; and while they now appeared to the Bourbons as personal foes, they felt their consciences too much burdened to forgive them their second return. On the other hand, the royalists saw in the miserable and shameful breaking up of the new order at the first touch of the emperor's hand only a confirmation of the truth that this whole constitutional system was a lamentable denial of truth and right. Left in their souls was a poignant sting and a thirst for revenge. On hearing of the battle of Waterloo the exasperation in the hot-blooded south of France was expressed in a succession of wild horrors. The 'White Terror,' a fitting counterpart to the 'Red Terror' of 1793, spread over Provence and Languedoc. The murderous bands of the 'Royal Volunteers' fell upon Bonapartists, Liberals, and Protestants, killing and plundering them. In Avignon Marshal Brune, in Toulouse General Ramel, were sacrifices to popular fury. Not less complete, if not so bloody, was the anarchy in the west.

Thus the royalist reaction, into which France fell in consequence of the Hundred Days, began its career. Its object was to



force back the country into the condition that preceded 1789. Some of the emigrés were even simple enough to seize upon their former estates without delay, to refuse to pay taxes, and to require from their serfs compulsory labor as before 1789. The rallying cry of the party was heard: "Restoration of the Rights of the Throne and the Altar;" but their real object was the restoration of the hereditary privileges of the old noblesse and of the clergy. The French people, who were accustomed to prize social equality as the chief of all the gains obtained by the Revolution, suddenly saw, starting up directly among themselves, a minority, which, through long absence, had become completely estranged from the body of the community. To the vehemence of assault corresponded the vigor of resistance. It was not merely a party strife which arose, but it was a contest of classes which evoked the most hateful passions on both sides.

Midway between the parties stood the Bourbon dynasty, feeble, and without roots in the soil, more a football than a check to the parties. Richelieu, a man of spotless character, and fully acquainted with the demands of the age, was disposed to effect the needful reforms; but to him was lacking the iron arm to bear back the onrushing passions. On the one hand to give security and satisfaction to the men of the Revolution, and on the other to content as well as to check the passions of the royalists, such was the aim of the ordinances of July 21 and 24, 1815, which decreed imprisonment, trial by court-martial, or supervision by the police, against fifty-seven persons who were compromised during the Hundred Days. Twenty-seven others were stricken from the roll of peers. These proscriptions only exasperated men, without satisfying the rage of the reaction. The king made the greatest haste to organize the constitutional representation. Not the Chamber of 1814 was summoned, but a new body with a membership increased to 402, according to the method of election pursued under the empire. Entirely contrary to the expectations of the government, which had prepared itself to look for a Liberal chamber of deputies, but to the supreme delight of the court and of the emigrés, the elections resulted decidedly in favor of the royalist party. The result is explained not merely by the circumstance that this party was the only one organized at the time, but also by the fact that in no country does the momentarily victorious power exercise upon the great mass a forceful influence so contagious and so sweeping in its action as in France.

To render the new conditions really vital, there was need on all

sides of the most honorable intentions, of the most judicious moderation. Instead of this, the French were compelled at once to establish the constitutional order, to place themselves in a posture of defence against a party which assailed not simply this or that ministry, but declared war upon the very principle of the modern state. Political trials increased greatly, and filled the prisons with many thousands. Officers' corps and civil authorities were purged by removals in mass, in order to thrust royalist adherents into the vacated places; and it mattered not what might be the qualifications of these men. With this reactionary current a second — the clerical — was blended, doubling its force. The church should be the saving power for the neglected people, and should bring them back to the submission which, unfortunately, they had so long forgotten. After the principle of positive separation between the religious and the civil life had prevailed for nearly a generation, and had passed into legislation, now a close alliance between politics and religion, between church and state, was to be concluded. A boundless zeal for the church was everywhere awakened. The clergy thundered against the sin of toleration, required even from Protestants the observance of the Catholic holidays, and established missions with great pomp, often with participation by the authorities. A thoroughly serviceable instrument presented itself to the clerico-royalist party in the Congregation, which came forth out of the darkness in 1814, and began to pursue political along with spiritual objects. Supported by an admirable organization and high connections, it soon became an exceedingly influential power in the land. Its chief was Artois, and this prince consequently obtained an importance which far exceeded the measure of his personal ability. There was constituted a twofold regular government, and that of 'Monsieur' was for the time the stronger. The special intellectual leaders of the party were the deputies Villèle and Corbière, the minister Vitrolles, the passionate de la Bourdonnaye, the thoughtful fanatic de Bonald, and Châteaubriand, celebrated as poet and author.

The chambers were hardly opened when the ultra-royalists rushed forward to their object with great vehemence. In the chamber of peers, de la Bourdonnaye and Prince Polignac began with refusing to make oath to the charter except with the reservation of their duty to the Catholic church, but the chambers decided against them. The very moderate views which the duke of Orleans announced at that time were so ill received by the court, that a hint

from the king drove him back to that exile in England which he had scarcely left. The chamber of peers by its vote had shown moderation and discretion. It was otherwise in the chamber of deputies, where the small Liberal minority under Royer-Collard, de Serre, and Pasquier could not bear up against the superior numbers of the ultra-royalists. Not knowledge of affairs and reason, only passion and persecuting fury, here took the lead. The nation began to be disquieted not less than the king. Yet shortly before he had praised the chamber as a *chambre introuvable*.

The general attention was directed for a moment from the passionate debates of the chamber, in which at times were renewed the wildest scenes of the Convention, to the great trials of two of the proscribed,— Marshal Ney, the great traitor, for whose blood even ladies among the Ultras were panting, and Lavalette, director-general of the post, who was charged with having abused his official position in preparing the way for March 20. Like Colonel Labedoyère, who was shot on August 19, by order of a court-martial, Ney by his own imprudence had fallen into the hands of the government. Since Ney denied the competency of the military court of marshals before which he had been brought, he was condemned by the peers, sitting as a court of justice, and was shot on December 7. But his execution quickly effaced the recollection of his lapse, and converted the rough, rapacious warrior into an ideal national hero. Lavalette also was sentenced to death; and in his case, although his guilt was not to be compared with that of Labedoyère and Ney, the king, from fear of the Ultras, did not dare to show mercy. But on the last night the prisoner, thanks to the heroic stratagem of his wife, escaped from prison, and reached the frontier in safety. The fury of the Ultras at the escape of their victim knew no bounds. In their insatiable thirst for vengeance they extorted new proscriptions from the government. Banishment was decreed against thirty-eight proscribed persons and the regicides. The judicial body and the university were purged, and every gap in the latter was filled with ecclesiastics. The Institute was restored to its original form; and, as a literary sequel to the political proscription, the banished men were stricken from the list of Academicians. Instead of directing all efforts to the reorganization of the national army, the one hundred Swiss and the Gardes-du-corps de Monsieur were again seen on parade, and a costly agreement was made with the Confederacy for the formation of six Swiss regiments.

Nevertheless, it was not with the great majority of the Ultras selfish and low motives, but belief in their own clear rights, which prompted them to persecute inexorably all that pertained to the Revolution. In one respect only had their views been changed in a remarkable manner. Since finding themselves in control of the chamber of deputies they had learned to prize the charter, at first the object of their hatred, as a highly valuable instrument for accomplishing their purposes, and in order, in case of necessity, to make use of it against the king. This scheme led to singular results. In opposition to the parliamentary assumptions of the royalists, it was the Liberals who came forward in defence of the rights of the crown. What the former obtained at this time was the restoration to the church of that part of ecclesiastical property not yet sold, amounting to 10,000,000 francs, and the renewed abolition of divorce. Their unappeasable rancor received fresh nutriment by occasion of a Bonapartist movement, in itself of small importance, attempted at Grenoble by an obscure ex-officer named Didier. Regulations of every description, numberless condemnations on the most trivial accusations, opened a second period of the White Terror.

The more mischievous the efforts of the Ultras became, the lower sank the belief in the vitality of the Bourbon dynasty. Many Frenchmen, in view of this contingency, were already turning their eyes to Napoleon's son, or to Prince Eugene Beauharnais, others to the duke of Orleans. But Artois showed himself wholly inaccessible to any representation. So great was his confidence and that of his party associates that they were already projecting a plan of campaign for the overthrow of the ministry. But it resulted otherwise. Minister Décazes was the first to reach the conclusion that it was high time to pause on the downward path of concession to a party which was leading the dynasty and the country to irretrievable ruin. He succeeded in persuading Richelieu that to convoke again the *chambre introuvable* was irreconcilable with the internal and external peace of France, and that the ardently desired liberation of France from the foreign army of occupation would only be still further delayed. He was able to overcome the disinclination of Louis XVIII. A royal ordinance suddenly appeared on September 5, 1816, dissolving the chamber of deputies, and restoring the membership to 262, the number originally designated by the charter.

A *coup d'état* once more; but it brought the counter-revolution to a standstill, and introduced a policy of conciliation which would



perhaps have perpetuated the Bourbon monarchy if it had not at a later day turned back into the path from which D cazes freed it. The new elections returned a chamber predominantly moderate; and the ministry was modified in the direction of liberality by the entrance of Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, Mol , and Pasquier. The electoral law of February 5, 1817, which granted the right of voting to every Frenchman not under thirty years of age, who paid a direct tax of at least thirty francs, introduced in that respect a new era for France, while it placed the centre of power in the hands of the middle classes. The budget was arranged by means of a loan; but nothing raised the ministry so much in the eyes of the nation as the decrease in number of the army of occupation, which it obtained from the powers on Alexander's intercession. In the matter of the private claims growing out of the liquidation of the empire, which were estimated at 1,390,000,000 francs, the czar was very ready to practise magnanimity at the expense of others, and particularly of the principal creditor, Prussia. Through his interposition these claims were reduced to an annual sum of 16,000,000 francs, of which England obtained three millions, Spain one million, and the remaining creditors the balance.

After these events the national as well as the political condition of the country acquired a better appearance. The Ultras, however, continued their fight. Ch teaubriand (Fig. 23), after position and character as a minister of state were lost in consequence of a violent pamphlet, became the martyr and idol of this party, and one of the dangerous foes of the government. The conduct of Artois was so disorderly that in order to make him harmless the National Guard, of which he was the commander, was deprived of its independent position, and subjected to the control of the state authorities.

On the other hand, the citizen class, the nightmare of reaction removed, began, as it were, to awake, and to acquire an interest in politics. The longer the press had remained mute, the greater the impression it now produced; the ideas of freedom and equality, mingled with many errors, seized upon their minds. For the liberal part of elevated society the salon of Madame de Sta l formed the place of reunion until her death (1817). At that time a Left wing began to separate from the ministerial party,—a coterie of intellectual men, distinguished by such names as Royer-Collard, Camille Jordan, de Serre, Beugnot, Guizot, Barante, and the duke of Broglie. The strictly logical forms with which this faction defended their doctrines

gained for them from their adversaries the name of *doctrinaires*. Unyielding in their theories, full of unbounded confidence in that which is simply reasonable, knowing no middle course, no concession to facts, and therefore unpractical and unpopular, they were dangerous at a time when parties, being destitute of experience, were dis-



FIG. 23. — CHATEAUBRIAND. From a painting by Girodet-Triosson (1797-1824).

posed to adhere rigorously to certain principles. Still farther to the Left stood the so-called Independents, who gathered around Benjamin Constant, one of the most formidable debaters in the chamber, but feeble in health in consequence of an irregular life. To them belonged the upright, but ambitious and vain Dupont de l'Eure, the popularity-craving Lafayette, to whom something of the sensibility

of the eighteenth century always adhered, and finally Manuel, an irreconcilable enemy of the Bourbons, feared on account of the intrepid, sarcastic calmness with which in the chamber he encountered the hatred of the Right. If the Liberals cared for the voice of the nation, they would have felt themselves impelled to sustain the king and his government against the extreme measures of the Ultras. Instead of this, through impatience, through that tendency to extremes which lies in French blood, and especially on account of the desire to secure to themselves during the life of Louis XVIII. guaranties against the reaction threatened after his death, they were willing to be led away into hostile procedure. In the discussion upon the press-law, proposed by the government, was to be witnessed the disastrous example of a coalition of the two opposing parties in a joint conflict against the government; and this defeated the law. What further confirmed the estrangement of the Doctrinaires from the ministry, was the failure of the Concordat negotiated in 1817 with the papal Curia, pending which it had been wholly neglected to secure in advance the consent of the chambers.

Increased courage for conflict the Liberals derived from the supplementary elections of 1818, which brought into the chamber more than twenty Independents, among them Manuel and Lafayette (Fig. 24); but of the discarded Ultras, not one was chosen. After many fruitless attempts to form a ministry more inclined to right views, the duke of Richelieu took his dismissal on December 27, 1818. Against the general expectation, however, this first of the many crises through which constitutional France was to pass, ended not with a victory of the Right, but of the Left. The soul of the new cabinet, the presidency of which Dessolles accepted, was Décazes, the king's favorite. Over this result the sorrow of the Liberal party was changed into rejoicing. They also hailed with great joy the first acts of the new ministry, — the pardoning of numerous exiles, and a very liberal press-law. The greater was the satisfaction of the middle class, who saw their ascendancy secured by the electoral law of February 5, 1819.

For the first time in the entire course of her history France enjoyed a real freedom. Fettered by no censorship, journalism expanded to an activity and importance, and gained an influence upon public opinion, never before known. Politics formed the material of conversation in all classes. The questions of the day were discussed in the salons, and there the leaders of the parties were honored by the



most beautiful and cultivated ladies. With this intellectual movement the increase of material prosperity kept equal pace. The fertility of the soil, the diligence and frugality of the people, aided in overcoming within an incredibly short space of time the disastrous results of a fearful war. Had it been the purpose of the Left to establish liberty, they should then have done everything to support a ministry, which had accomplished so much for it, and was prepared to do more. But this



FIG. 24. — Lafayette. From the lithograph by Senefelder; original drawing by Joseph Albrier.

generation, which, with such great enthusiasm and so little experience, had rushed onward to the conquest of liberty, did not understand how to find the point where right and reason command a halt. In truth, the opposition desired no reconciliation between liberty and legitimate monarchy; and their conduct was determined by secret purposes which were anti-dynastic. The Left were constantly tearing open afresh painful wounds, and their unpatriotic initiative was supported by the follies of the Bourbons and the passions of the Ultras. After a short period of moderation, the emancipated press passed over to indulge in the most violent attacks upon the government; and the supplementary elections in the autumn of 1819 left no doubt with regard to the growth of the radical spirit. Among those now chosen,



along with the republican General Foy, there was found Grégoire, formerly bishop of Blois, former member of the Convention and well nigh a regicide, whose election was a deadly insult to the brothers and daughters of Louis XVI., and a useless provocation to the royalists, who were thrown by it into unbounded fury. Immediately on the convening of the chambers the Right carried the exclusion of Grégoire.

Even Décazes, who now himself accepted the presidency of the ministry, recognized the necessity of changing the electoral law. But before the project was ready an event occurred which completely reversed the situation. On February 13, 1820, in the midst of the merriment of the carnival, the duke of Berry, second son of Artois, was stabbed, as he was leaving the opera, by a saddler named Louvel. The murderer was a wretched fanatic, whose purpose was by this act to destroy the succession of that dynasty. The rage of the Ultras could not possibly be silenced, and they publicly held the Liberals and the government responsible for the crime. In the Marsan pavilion a plot was even contrived to kill, in case of need, the prime minister when he should be passing through the hall of the gardes-du-corps. It was unspeakably painful for the king to sacrifice his favorite to the hate of the Right, and he did not give him up until Artois and the duchess of Angoulême conjured him on their knees. Richelieu for the second time stepped to the head of a cabinet composed of the Right Centre. This is the beginning of the great royalist reaction, which was to be kept in power for seven years, until 1827.

To turn the state, before it was too late, out of the current that was driving it toward the rocks and shoals of revolution, Richelieu had a second time grasped the helm. His first measures, however, — the restricting of the freedom of the press for one year, the empowering of the government to hold suspected persons in prison, even without legal procedure, for three months — were carried only after a severe struggle. Still more violently the parties assailed each other over the new electoral law, for this pursued the avowed object of withdrawing elections from the influence of Liberalism. The conflict spread from the hall of session, and in the streets it resulted in tumults and bloody collisions. But the very alarm over these scenes aided the government to victory, and the law was adopted. The Left were checked in their victorious career. But the purpose of profiting by this victory in favor of reaction was utterly remote



FIG. 25. — The Duchess of Berry and her children. From a steel engraving by Delannoy; original painting by François Pascal Gérard (1770–1837). Versailles, Historical Gallery.

from the Richelieu ministry; on the contrary, it unanimously determined to rule the country with an upright maintenance of the charter in a judicious manner. From the fact, however, that it leaned upon the Right for support, it was more and more drawn over to that side; and the Ultras had never looked upon it as anything but a provisional ministry. And just then there occurred for royalty days of most ecstatic joy. On September 29, 1820, the widowed duchess of Berry gave birth to a son (Fig. 25). A rejoicing bordering on frenzy received the new-born child, the Child of Miracle, the Messiah of Legitimacy. His mother was compared to the Virgin Mary. When five days old, the little 'duke of Bordeaux' received the visit of the diplomatic corps, and a collection was arranged in order to make him a present of the castle of Chambord.

In the next elections the Right obtained a complete victory. With increasing violence they exclaimed against the moderation of the ministry in not removing Liberals in sufficient numbers, and filling their places with men of the victorious party. On more than one occasion had ministers experienced the hostility and non-compliance of the Right. Its generosity was shown only when the church was in question, and extended so far that the number of bishoprics was increased to eighty. In general, the nearer the Ultras came to the possession of power, the more strongly did their religious, together with their political, tendencies appear; and the clergy did not perceive that already the semblance of an alliance with this party had sufficed to render both it and the church herself suspected and detested by all whose subjection to the church was not secured. The first attack was made upon the monopoly of instruction created by Napoleon for the *Université*. Under the pretence of freedom of instruction, the clergy desired the monopoly, and to come into the place of that possessed by the University. The teaching Jesuits, who passed by the name of 'Fathers of the Faith,' knew how to elude the monopoly of the University, so that in their so-called small seminaries, established for the preliminary instruction of priests, and withdrawn from state supervision, they received other children also who were not intended for the ecclesiastical order. And now the Jesuits, whose existence in France had been hitherto constantly denied, had the audacity, under their real name, to erect at Montereau a parent establishment for these educational institutions.

To these provocations, adversaries did not fail to make answer. In the first place, because of them Voltaireanism, which had become



extinct, experienced a regeneration ; and it formed a union with the old Gallicanism, and with the vulgar irreligion, as that is expressed most plainly in Béranger's songs. The Congregation prepared absurd *auto-da-fés* of Voltaire's and Rousseau's works, and the Liberals scattered their almost forgotten writings in larger editions among the people. Everywhere the same spectacle, — two streams, of which the one was bearing the country toward the Middle Ages, the other toward the Revolution, produced, as they dashed and rebounded against each other, the whirling gulf which was dragging into its depths every attempt to give permanence to existing order. Political parties were more sharply divided than ever. In these contests the rupture between the Ministerialists and the Doctrinaires was completed. The latter, together with the Left Centre, went over together to the Opposition ; and the Right, in their exasperation, having struck Royer-Collard, Jordan, Barante, and Guizot from the list of councillors of state, only bound these eminent abilities more firmly to the Left. From this time on the Right and Left stood in direct opposition.

The Left derived from the victory of those of like mind in the Spanish peninsula, and in Naples, new spirit and encouragement to imitate them. A chief focus of secret associations was the Society of the Friends of Liberty of the Press, and the Lodge of the Friends of Truth. Lafayette, Dupont de l'Eure, d'Argenson, and Manuel constituted the committee of direction ; but with the unimpressibility of the great mass, this movement in the dark would hardly have acquired importance if the discontent in the corps of officers had not led a considerable number to be prepared for open resistance. From these the plan went out for a revolution by force. The soul and head of the plot was a Colonel Maziau, and the active agents were Captain Nantil and Colonel Fabvier. Twenty-four hours before the outbreak the design was betrayed and foiled. For a long time the discovery of this plot inflicted a severe wound on Liberalism, and those who did not wish to hear of violence and commotion turned their backs upon it.

But the situation of the Richelien ministry was continually growing worse. Even the support which it had in the king was decreasing all the time. More and more Louis XVIII. was falling into an apathy, out of which he awoke but seldom ; and the countess du Cayla, who ruled his heart, intrigued in league with the clericals against the duke of Richelieu. When now the elections of 1821



had brought fresh re-enforcements to the Right, they believed the time to have come for opening a decisive campaign. Once more the extreme Right reached out its hand to the Left, and the two agreed upon a clause in the address which should charge the ministry with having purchased peace at the expense of national honor. After six years of fruitless labor to establish among his political friends the ascendancy of reasonable principles of government over the spirit of party, but without the necessary power or the requisite fortune to manage them, on December 2, 1821, Richelieu gave in his resignation.

For the first time there now came forward a ministry of pronounced party hue, even if Villèle, the chief, did not share all the views of the Right, and partook of none of its passions; with him were Peyronnet, Montmorency, Corbière, and others. But at the very moment when the Reaction was revelling in its triumph, the secret societies were going to work with fresh activity. The Carbonari, again established in France, became widely extended. Lafayette was president of the supreme *Venta*, and drew in many of his friends; with them all, the downfall of the Bourbons was regarded as a decided matter. Within three years eight conspiracies could be counted up. The only one brought so far as the beginning of actual execution was (1822) that of General Berton in Thouars, near Saumur; but he also fell into the hands of the police. Within fourteen days nine sentences of death were executed. Although no one of those sacrificed was innocent, yet such executions left behind them everywhere an impression unfavorable to the monarchy. The Ultras regarded these occurrences as a fresh demand to draw the reins more tightly, and Villèle yielded to the pressure much more than his predecessor. Thus it was that the debates in the chamber came to take on a character of virulence quite unexampled. Offences of the press were withdrawn from juries, and were committed to the king's courts of justice, without appeal. The political as well as the religious character of the university was subjected to the most rigorous control. Unacceptable professors were removed, the lectures of Guizot and Victor Cousin were suspended, and Silvestre de Sacy was removed from the council of instruction and succeeded by an ecclesiastic. Religious proselytism was in the fullest bloom, and the theatres were held under rigorous censorship. Before the courts advocates were restricted in defending the accused. But notwithstanding all this, the Ultras blamed the ministry for doing nothing

and for not raising the banner of royalty with sufficient determination. According to their opinion, there was seen in the visible degradation of the Spanish throne what France might expect in the event of their adversaries proving victorious. The intervention in Spain was their work. When Manuel, in the debate on the credit of 100,000,000 francs demanded for that expedition, ventured, by way of warning, to recall to mind the fate of Louis XVI., the angry outcry of the Right drowned his voice, and the majority decreed his expulsion for that session. The entire Left, sixty-two deputies, followed him, presented a protest, and declared that they would no longer take part in the deliberations. They did not neglect to profit by this excess of passionate hostility in order to produce fresh agitation in the multitude, and to excite their hatred against the dominant party.

By this the Ultras were little disturbed. They gloried in the triumph which they fancied had been won by the Spanish expedition. Other circumstances also contributed to raise the hopes of the royalists immoderately. The material advance of the country exceeded the boldest expectations; the value of land had risen; the constant increase of customs and indirect imposts showed the growing prosperity of the people; and the budget of 1821 closed with a surplus of 32,000,000 francs. To this should be added the approaching change of government, which disposed every one who wished to obtain, if possible, any favor from the new king, to put himself on the right footing with the royalists. With the less hesitation did the Villèle (Fig. 26) ministry plan to bring into use, in the election of deputies in 1823, all the means at command, to secure a completely devoted chamber. The Liberal Opposition, still one hundred and ten strong in the last chamber, were reduced to nineteen, and were compelled to lose several of their leaders, such as Laffitte, Lafayette, and Dupont. The first advantage which the ministry made haste to derive from this electoral victory consisted in causing the septennate law to be passed; that is, the substitution for the partial renewal of the chamber of deputies every year of the renewal of the entire body every seven years, which, with the existing majority of the chamber, would secure it to the ministry for the same length of time. Impressively, but in vain, Royer-Collard (Fig. 27), the most important politician in the Liberal Opposition, warned them against such a falsification of the representative system, which recalled the arbitrary proceedings of the imperial government.

Instead of establishing permanently the supremacy of the Right, it was precisely this septennate law which completed the separation of that party from the nation. A tyrannical and violent exercise of power did not result from it, but the Ultras thrust their people into the most important offices. The more without restraint the Right felt themselves to be as masters in the chamber of deputies, the higher rose their demands; and yet they were moderate in compari-



FIG. 26. — Villèle. From a painting in private possession. (From d'Héricault.)

son with those of the clerical Ultras, who, with ever increasing clamor and vehemence, desired the repeal of ungodly laws engendered by the Revolution; and little as it accorded with Villèle's views to satisfy such excessive claims, yet he had already yielded too much to his party to allow any escape from falling more and more into their power. The censorship was renewed for all journals and periodical publications. The most effectual opposition to

the excesses of the Reaction was now making itself felt in a remarkable way in the chamber of peers.

This was the condition of affairs when the long expected event, the death of Louis XVIII., occurred on September 16, 1824. Notwithstanding all apprehensions to the contrary, the succession to the



ROYER-COLLARD.

FIG. 27. — Royer-Collard. From a lithograph by Delpech; original drawing by Mauris.

throne was accomplished without the least disturbance. Charles X., who was already sixty-seven years of age, was narrow and prejudiced; but he possessed good will and courtesy, and felt the need of his people's love. Villèle, who had manifested the sagacity to draw him into governmental affairs during the last days of Louis XVIII., had now the skill to maintain himself in the confidence of



the new king. Charles X. (PLATE VIII.) marked the beginning of his reign by several liberal measures, such as receiving into the council the dauphin, known for his attachment to the charter, and the conferring of the title 'Royal Highness' on the duke of Orleans and his family; furthermore, the removal of the censorship, as a reward for the splendid reception which the city of Paris had prepared for him, raised loyal enthusiasm to its height. But this seeming peace, which the credulous fancy of the French had accepted as the virtual conclusion of the Revolutionary period, was to show itself only as a brief armistice. The hopeful feeling quickly turned to the contrary when the restoration of court etiquette in all the stiffness of the ancient régime, traces of the growing influence of the Jesuits, the arrest of the philosopher Victor Cousin when travelling to Germany, and finally the sudden arrest of a hundred and sixty-seven of the most decided Imperialists among the superior officers, furnished plain indications that the unstable king had already come round into the opposite direction. The coronation (PLATE IX.)<sup>1</sup>

#### <sup>1</sup> EXPLANATION OF PLATE IX.

The anointing of Charles X. of France in the Cathedral of Rheims on May 29, 1825 (Versailles, Historical Gallery). From a steel engraving by Dien; original painting by François Pascal Gérard (1770-1837).

The picture represents the moment after the completion of the anointment. Charles X. is seated on the throne, embracing the dauphin, the duke of Angoulême. Before the throne stands Count Latil, archbishop of Rheims, with uplifted arms; between him and the duke of Angoulême stand the duke of Orleans and the prince of Condé. Behind the king, on the other side of the throne, the duke of Havré and Croy and Marshal Victor, duke of Belluno; on this side of the throne the marquis of Rivière; and behind him, on the left, the baron of Cladèves; on the right the duke of Mortemart. In the middle of the picture, clothed in an ermine-trimmed mantle, stands the chancellor of France, Viscount Dambray; to the right, near him, Prince Talleyrand, and between them the duke of Avaray. Between Talleyrand and the archbishop of Rheims the marquis of Rochemore is visible. In the adjoining group, in the foreground to the right, is the duke of Aumont with the large plumes in his hat; behind him, to the left, is the Viscount Latour-Maubourg. Farther towards the right the standing figure of an ecclesiastic is the duke of Clermont-Tonnère, cardinal-archbishop of Toulouse; sitting next to him, the cardinal duke of La Fare. Behind him stands Prince Jules de Polignac; while in front of him Marshal the marquis of Lauriston stands near his stool, and behind this is Count Cossé Brissac. In the farthest group to the right stands Marshal Soult, duke of Dalmatia, in front, then Marshal Mortier, duke of Treviso, Viscount La Rochefoucauld, and against the pillar Marshal Count Jourdan.

In the foreground to the left stands Monseigneur Serre, one of the 'gardes de la Manche,' the twenty-five noblemen who accompany the king during festivities. On his stool is seated the duke of Uzès, representing the grand master of France; behind him, and waving the bared sword of Charlemagne, stands Marshal Moncey, duke of Conéglano, who was also the constable of France. To the left, behind him, stands the duke of Crussol, adjutant-general of the king; and to the right behind the con-

PLATE VIII



Charles X.

Reduced facsimile of an engraving by F. Garnier; original painting by François Pascal  
General (1770-1837).









The Anointing of Charles X. of France i

From a steel engraving by Dien of the original painting

*History of All Nations, Vol. XVIII., page 154.*



the Cathedral of Rheims on May 29, 1823.

François Pascal Gérard. (Versailles, Historical Gallery.)



PLATE IX.



The Anointing of Charles X. of France in the Cathedral of Rheims on May 29, 1825

From a steel engraving by Dien of the original painting by François Pascal Gérard. (Versailles, Historical gallery.)



the Cathedral of Rheims on May 29, 1825.

François Pascal Gérard. (Versailles, Historical Gallery.)





was performed on September 29, 1825, at Rheims, with all the pomp of the vanished centuries. There was also the healing of the scrofulous, which every newly anointed king was wont to perform by laying on his hands. The Middle Ages seemed suddenly to reappear.

Neither the government nor the Right, by which it was supported and upon which it depended, took into account that a new world of ideas had subdued the entire cultivated portion of the nation, the broad strata of the middle class, and had acquired many adherents even in the higher ranks. While in the first years of the Restoration, the royalists, represented by de Maistre, Bonald, and, above all, by Châteaubriand, had the chief place in literature, yet subsequently a younger generation had come forward into public life, which had no recollections of the old France, but with its entire experience and thought was rooted in the times that followed 1789. A modern spirit breathed forth even in men of learning and science, who, since the liberation of minds from the leaden pressure of the imperial despotism, had in like manner attained a fresh buoyancy. The high stage of this intellectual revival was indicated by the lectures which three richly endowed and eloquent young men, Villemain, Victor Cousin, and Guizot, delivered at the Sorbonne in the year 1828. Into their halls the *élite* of society thronged, together with the students. Characteristic of this movement is its close connection with the politics of the day. While in Germany historical science, entirely through the reverent and loving investigation of the past, exerted the highest influence upon the development of the national spirit, it has always been, even to the learned among French historians, such as A. Thierry and Barante, a means of promoting the views of a political party. But no historian has wrought with such momentous results upon the France of that day and of later days as Louis Adolphe Thiers. Having come to Paris with his friend Mignet with no other resource than talent and self-confidence, this young man, small in stature, with a thin voice and awkward manner, by his command of the art of conversation and by his ability easily to shape his course in any department of inquiry, became one

stable, stand the duke of Fitz-James and the duke of Maille, both first adjutant-generals of the king. The three figures between the duke of Uzès and the Chancellor Viscount Dambray are the marquis of Boiscelin, the baron of St. Felix, and the marquis of Dreux Brézé, the grand master of ceremonies of France.

In the loge in the background are the duchess of Angoulême (the dauphiness), the duchess of Berry with the young duke of Bordeaux, the duchess of Orleans, and mademoiselle of Orleans.

of the best-known persons in Paris. The first volume of his *History of the Revolution* appeared in the year 1823. No writer previously had ever spoken of that period of wild and bloody aberrations except with horror. Thiers was the first who not merely excused those fearful deeds, but justified them on the ground of an imperious necessity. The book was a 'historical Marseillaise.' Every French citizen was after this proud of the 'immortal Revolution,' and in the pride respecting the past Revolution lay unconsciously and silently the invitation to one in the future. Thus this historical production, which came speedily into popular acceptance, encouraged the French people in their over-estimation of their own country, in contempt for foreign countries, and in a fantastic worship of glory and of heroes.

To this opposition directed against the dominant system, there now rose up an ally from an entirely unexpected quarter. On May 5, 1821, Napoleon Bonaparte died at St. Helena. No one, whether friend or foe, received the announcement of his death without deep emotion. The cabinets felt that they were freed from an incubus. The young king of Rome, who, as Duke Francis of Reichstadt, remained under the guardianship of his grandfather, occasioned no anxiety. But the emperor himself was not dead. The tragical issue, exciting to the imagination, of this powerful life, gave fresh resonance to the name of Napoleon. For a long time recollections of the empire were supplanted by passionate interest in the parliamentary contests; but amid the tumult of party discord, the acquisitions and the fame of the empire still remained the only thing in the recent past intelligible for the masses. An active Bonapartist literature, which began with the apocryphal "Manuscript from St. Helena," generally attributed to Napoleon himself, had as little concern as possible for historic truth, but brought system and method into the glorification of the emperor. From the tomb on the solitary rocky island came forth an ideal form, which indeed bore the outward lineaments of the living emperor, but of his inward being nothing whatever. Thus began that Napoleonic legend by which the insatiable despot was transformed into a peace-loving and liberal ruler, who never grasped the sword save as compelled by the perfidious demands of his adversaries. In this manner was accomplished the combination of the two elements of Liberalism and Bonapartism, in their essentials mutually antagonistic, but brought together by a like hatred of the Bourbons. It is true that for most Liberals homage to

the memory of Napoleon was offered only as a shaft sped against the royal dynasty, yet the views of the Independents by degrees underwent even an actual transformation.

An entirely analogous direction was given to poetry. In that firmament the most brilliant star that arose during that period was Lamartine. At one bound his *Méditations* had made him the first poet of new France. After him, Delavigne's *Messéniennes* and Victor Hugo's early odes announced the coming of a new and enthusiastic generation of poets for the throne and altar. At first the ancient classic form prevailed which had survived the political and social revolution. But it was not long before poets shook off the yoke of academic rules and founded the Romantic school, which, according to Hugo's expression, was in poetry the same as Liberalism in the state; and then they went over to the opposition. They only followed in a body the example of their patriarch Châteaubriand. By his *Génie du Christianisme* he had already in truth accomplished his defection from classicality, and his transition to the opposition in externals was the consequence of mortified ambition. His defection was a severe loss for the royalist party, which had no superfluity of conspicuous talents. A still more dangerous enemy to the Bourbons arose in Béranger (Fig. 28), the writer of songs, the most popular poet of modern France. No one else knew so well how to conceal, under the varied, mingled tints of poetry, the poison of the most biting irony upon the absurdities of the emigrés, the follies of the court, and the intrigues of the priests; and no one had contributed more than he to the legend of the 'Little Corporal.' Almost all that then constituted the renown of France in literature, science, and art turned to the Liberal party, on whose side were the most distinguished and brilliant speakers in the chambers.

The same phenomenon was repeated in the daily literature, which, notwithstanding the vigorous press-law of 1822, acquired unwonted scope and influence. In the *Journal des Débats* Châteaubriand led on an embittered warfare against his former colleagues. A politico-literary power of the first order was P. Courier, who in his pamphlets fell upon monarchy, nobility, and priesthood with cutting, inexorable boldness; and out of revenge for his fruitless suing for a seat in the Academy he did not disdain to excite the worst passions of the multitude. A group of young talents, in their political inclinations liberal, and without dynastic sympathies, Rémusat, Vitet, Duchâtel, Duvergier d'Hauranne, and Sainte-Beuve, found



in *Le Globe*, established in 1824, an organ for the public discussion of questions philosophical, social, religious, historical, and literary. Through all the pores of society new views, new ideas, were pressing in, to which those indigenous in the Faubourg St.-Germain — the worship of a monarchy by the grace of God, the superstitious regard for the privileges of order, and spiritual devotion — formed the most decided contrast conceivable.

It was therefore one of the greatest follies of the Right that they saw the opposition only on the benches of the Left in the chamber



FIG. 28. — Béranger. From a steel engraving by E. Leguay (1762–1840) ; original by Sandoz.

and consequently believed that they would be able to gain entire mastery of the nation. The products of the law which the government laid before the chambers on their first assembling after the king's accession, represented nothing less than a regular coherent system of political and ecclesiastical reaction. Thus it happened that the law for the conversion of the five-per-cent bonds into four-per-cents was opposed by the Liberals, because the saving thus aimed at was to be applied to the indemnification of the emigrés ; and the Liberals charged the proposed law with being a robbery of the middle

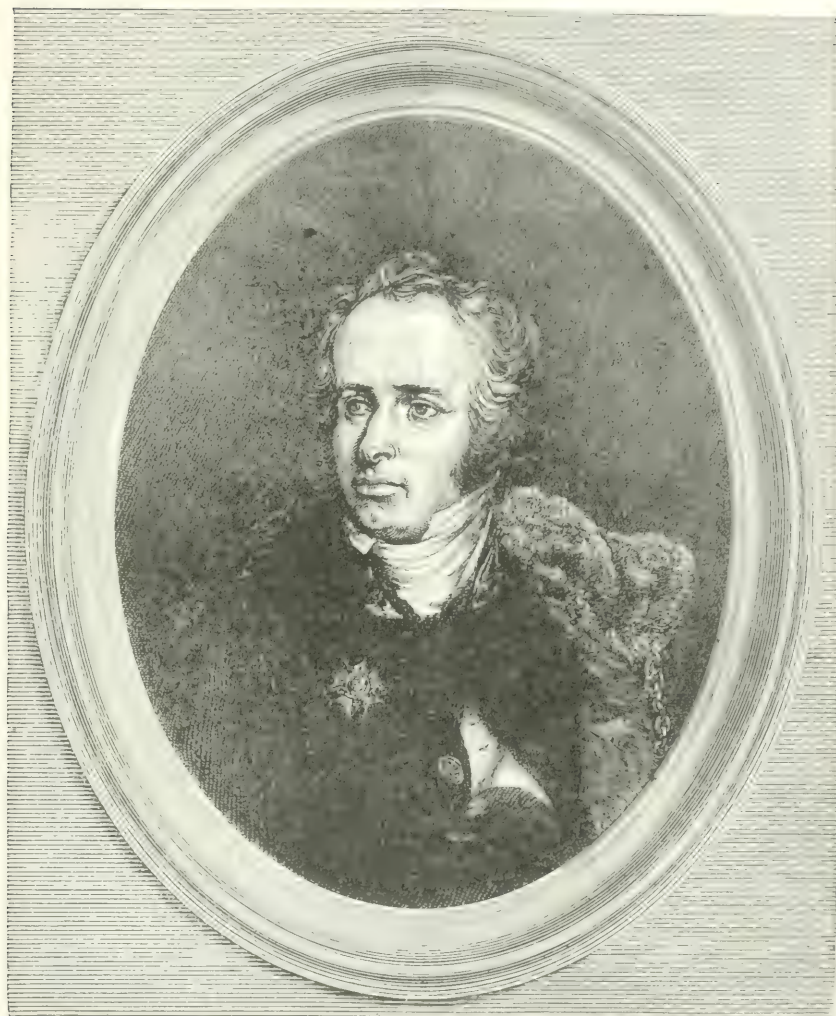
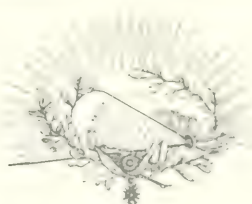
class and of the poor in favor of the old aristocracy. On the other hand, for the indemnification of these persons, the Right issued 1,000,000,000 francs of three-per-cents, which, although it added to the annual burden of the state an amount equivalent to 30,000,000 francs, was yet represented as nothing but a measure of justice and appeasement. More violently still the conflict raged concerning the two ecclesiastical laws. In the first of these enactments, relating to the erection and endowment of nunneries, there was involved at the same time the re-establishment of the rights of primogeniture and consequently the suppression of the division of property. The proposed law denied to such an extent the equality habitual in French family life, that public opinion with the greatest vehemence pronounced against the proposed change; and after the rejection of primogeniture the project went forth from the chamber so mutilated that it was no longer recognizable. All previous demands made by the ecclesiastical reaction were, however, far exceeded by the second, the law concerning sacrilege, which undertook to thrust back enlightened, intellectual, and cultured France into the darkest times of the Middle Ages, and into the horrors of the Inquisition. It imposed the penalty of death for the profanation of sacred vessels. Desecration of the host was to be punished as patricide; grand sacrilegious larceny with death, and petty theft with compulsory labor for life. Royer-Collard sought in vain to check the raging of the Ultras against any equalization of Protestant churches with the sacred things of the mass by referring to the charter, which guaranteed to non-Catholics equality before the civil law, and from this to show the absurdity of the proposed law. That the chamber of peers at least carried through several modifications of the bill was highly approved by public opinion.

Although the law of sacrilege never came to be applied in its most essential provisions, yet it inflicted irreparable injury upon religion as well as upon monarchy. It was not, however, the solitary blow aimed at the spirit of the time. As in 1815, so at this time the ecclesiastical reaction came forward with a weight far surpassing the political. The clergy raised their heads more boldly than ever. In all classes of the population, under the direction of the Congregation and of the Fathers of the Faith, church unions and affiliations were multiplied. The opposition of the people to this movement found fresh support in the evidence of the very worldly motives, for the most part, which prompted such proceedings; and it confirmed the

people in the opinion that every religious declaration came from hypocrisy and calculation. All the endeavors of the Ultras to create an alliance between religion and politics succeeded only in rendering the church and religion detested to a degree scarcely credible; and the more zealously the king made a spectacle of the fulfilment of his spiritual duties, the more rapidly his popularity declined. The Abbé Lamennais now began his attack upon what had survived of the Gallican church; and although the vehement language of his famous treatise, "*Religion in its Relations to the Political and Civil Condition*," drew upon him a condemnation, this could not prevent this man from exerting a decided influence upon the total future development of the Catholic church. On the other hand, the old Count Montlosier came forward as the indefatigable assailant of all hierarchical schemes, and his blows hit the harder that his loyalty was unimpeachable. In his pamphlets he fulminated against the four plagues, — the party of the Congregations, Jesuits, Ultramontanes, and the Priest-party. His petition to the chamber of peers to dissolve the prohibited Congregations and the Jesuits, and also to secure the rights of the Gallican church, called forth a debate, in which the minister of worship could no longer deny the presence of Jesuits in France, and could only call in question its illegality.

For a long time the country had been willing to submit to the rule of the Ultras to avoid fresh revolutions; but the foolish excesses of this party, and the yielding of the ministry to its demands, threatened danger; and now the people began to turn again to the men whom of late they had thrust aside. Thus the opposition gradually recovered from its overthrow, and neglected no opportunity that offered in order to make itself observed. The triumphal reception of Lafayette, 'the hero of two worlds,' on returning from his voyage to America, the obsequies of General Foy (Fig. 29), one of the most distinguished parliamentary orators of the Left, and, shortly afterwards, the funeral of Manuel, were employed by them as serviceable means of agitation. The reply of the Right was made by urging through, against the wishes of Villèle, the project of a press-law of a rigor so Draconian that it aroused a universal storm. Even the Academy addressed a counter representation to the king; and that he in anger refused to receive it did not at all alter the fact that the highest scientific body in France had openly joined the Opposition. True, the chamber of deputies, after long and hot debates, adopted the law, but with so many modifications that the



LE C<sup>AL</sup>

FOY

FIG. 29. — General Foy. From an engraving by Achille Leclerc (1708-1864). Original painting by Horace Vernet (1789-1863).

ministry preferred to withdraw it. Paris was illuminated: hurrahs for the king were mingled with the cry, — Down with the ministers!



Down with the Jesuits!" Still more decided demonstrations against the dominant system were exhibited at the review of the National Guard of Paris, which the king held on April 29, 1827. Highly enraged, Villèle induced the king to disband the entire National Guard of Paris. Such was the rupture between Charles X. and the citizens of the capital.

Experiences of this and a similar kind shook the king's confidence in his prime minister; and the more readily did he listen to the suggestions of his old confidants, Rochefoucauld, Polignac, and the dukes of Fitz-James and Maillé, who labored together to ruin Villèle. On his side, Villèle clung convulsively to his ministerial seat; and before leaving it he resorted to every expedient. Three days after the close of the chambers an ordinance was again issued for the censorship of the periodical press; but there was immediately formed a "Union of the Friends of Freedom of the Press," whose occasional writings took the place of the paralyzed journals. Villèle pressed on with energetic measures; and the four ordinances of November 6 decreed the dissolution of the chamber of deputies, the suppression of the censorship, the convening of the new chamber for February 5, 1828, and, finally, the appointment of seventy-six new peers, almost without exception men whose sole merit consisted in their devotion to the ministry. In the elections the government brought into play the entire apparatus of their influence; but notwithstanding this, and owing mainly to the efforts of the Union of *Aide-toi et le ciel t'aidera*, formed with Guizot as president, the electoral contest ended in the ruinous defeat of the ministry. Villèle's retirement had now become unavoidable. But the warmth of the opposition encountered had made so deep an impression on the king that he did not yield to the eager desires of Polignac and his friends, who imagined that now their time had come. But he committed to the viscount of Martignac, a man of moderate principles and conciliatory character, the formation of a new cabinet.

The king, in his narrow way, believed that he had done everything that could be expected of him in changing the personnel of his ministry. He did not take counsel with his ministers, but with the confidants of his private chamber. The strength of the cabinet was put to a particularly hard test by the question of the legality of the small seminaries, which had been already often considered. As the investigation, which was instituted, showed, a great number of these had been established without permission from the state, in dis-

regard of legal prescriptions, and contained a multitude of pupils not intended for the priesthood, and eight of them were managed by Jesuits. The ordinances of July 16, 1828, subjected these institutions to the oversight of the University, required of every teacher or director of the same the written assurance that he belonged to no unrecognized society, confined them to the training of priests, and the number of pupils to 20,000, but also assigned to them a yearly subsidy from the state of 1,200,000 francs. This was the Diocletian persecution which caused the outeries of the Ultras. The bishops rose in open opposition. The king would suffer no disobedience from anyone. This result, on the one hand, increased the rancor of the Ultras against the ministry; while, on the other, the unexpected yielding of the king begot the erroneous opinion, that it was the fault of the ministers alone if he did not in all other points yield as easily. But Charles X. felt his courage rise to free himself from ministers who were objectionable to him. His favorite, Polignac, was summoned from London; but after various attempts to form another cabinet, he was obliged to return to his post. The question then came up concerning laws for departmental and communal administration, one of the best, wisest, and most liberal pieces of legislation which a French minister had ever taken in hand, a first, if also a small and timid, step from the system of centralization toward local self-government. These laws were in high degree repugnant to the king as well as to the Right: consequently the Left and the Doctrinaires could not deny themselves the pleasure, by criticism and opposition, to contrive all possible difficulties for the ministry. The manoeuvre was repeated by which Richelieu was overthrown in 1821; and on April 8 Martignac withdrew the laws, which were so mutilated by the unnatural coalition of the two parties as to be utterly useless.

This eighth of April became a most eventful day for France, for on it the Revolution of July began. The vanquished policy of conciliation and moderation laid down its arms in presence of the unreasonableness of parties. Secretly, and as if it were a conspiracy, behind the backs of the ministers, the formation of a new cabinet was prosecuted. On August 8 the *Moniteur* announced the new ministry: Polignac, minister of foreign affairs; de la Bourdonnaye, of the interior; Chabrol, of finance; Courvoisier, of justice; Bourmont, of war; Admiral de Rigny (for the present, afterward d'Haussez), of marine; de Montbel, of instruction.

Like an alarm-bell, their names resounded through the land; anger, indignation, contempt, were the echo. For Polignac people were prepared; but for Bourmont, the traitor of Waterloo! This name aroused the feeling of the nation, and it disgraced the army. The variances within the Liberal party vanished in a moment; they were blended in the one thought of resistance at any price. These sentiments were reflected by the press with various shades of expression. In contrast with these concurrent public declarations, very little could be proved by the cry of triumph from the extreme Right, or the pastoral epistles of certain bishops, who congratulated religion and morality on account of this victory!

But time passed on strangely without the expected *coup d'état*. The principal check was occasioned by the rivalry and the difference of opinion between the two chiefs of the cabinet, the soft-stepping, gentle Polignac, and the impetuous, vehement de la Bourdonnaye, who, like the Ultras, urged a violent solution. Finally the latter was obliged to yield: and Polignac now first (November 17) received the appointment of prime minister. The convening of the chambers gave assurance that for the time all thoughts of a *coup d'état* were deferred; but a peaceful understanding between this ministry and the chambers was nevermore to be expected. The threatening language of the speech from the throne (March 2, 1830), that if punishable machinations should prepare obstacles for the government, it would know how to find strength to overcome them, was answered in the address adopted by a vote of 221, by the decisive declaration that the accord between the policy of the government and the public opinion, indispensable for the welfare of the state, did not exist; that the king's distrust of the country was unjustifiable; and that the universally prevailing disquiet, by its longer continuance, would imperil the sources of the nation's prosperity. Hereupon the chambers were prorogued (March 13) to September 1. Charles X. was persuaded that to yield would lead to ruin. Polignac especially assured him that the agitation was artificial, the work of a few restless heads, that the disturbance of the general welfare was owing entirely to the electoral system and the press-law, and that this could be changed for the better "by a temporary deviation from existing institutions."

The *coup d'état* at home must be aided by a great success in the foreign policy of the government. It was the critical time when Diebitsch appeared on the south side of the Balkans, and the downfall of Turkey was considered inevitable. In anticipation of this event

the Emperor Nicholas secretly stretched forth his hand to France for alliance, and Polignac eagerly grasped it. The temptation, by means of an alliance with Russia, of breaking up England's maritime supremacy, and of being able to set aside the detested treaties of 1815, was too great for the new minister. The plan was formed in his mind of a complete transformation of the map of Europe, in which France, as a matter of course, should have the Rhine, and Russia, Constantinople.

Wholly filled with these plans, Prince Polignac found himself, to his great disgust, involved in another complication with the dey of Algiers. The mutual jealousy of the European powers had resulted in this, that in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the North African Barbary states dared to continue their old outrages; and, although in the year 1816 an English squadron under Lord Exmouth had extorted from the ruler of Tunis and Tripoli the promise to give up the enslaving of Christians, and had broken the pride of the dey of Algiers by cannonading the town and taking away his ships, the piracy was speedily revived. Hussein Pasha, the new dey of Algiers (since 1818), had his special complaints against France; and on April 30, 1827, even suffered himself to be so carried away by his anger at a haughty reply of the French consul, that he dealt him a blow in the face with a fly-brush. The satisfaction demanded was refused: the French vessel bearing a flag of truce was fired upon; and, since the blockade imposed upon Algiers had no effect, the government was obliged to employ more effectual measures.

Once become necessary, an expedition against Algiers (Fig. 30), could also render good additional service; for it would turn the eye of the people away from transactions at home. On June 14 30,000 Frenchmen landed on the peninsula of Sidi-Ferrush; repulsed on the 19th, a violent assault; and after the castle that commanded the city had been stripped of its defenders, on July 4, by a five-hours' cannonading, and blown up, the dey surrendered.

The ministry had delayed with the dissolution of the chambers until May 16, for the purpose of having the news of victory from Algiers for the new elections. This, however, failed completely of the intended effect. The ministry suffered, in the bitter electoral contest, a shameful defeat; and the triumph of the opposition far exceeded their hopes. Of the 221 who voted for the late address, not less than 202 were re-elected. But with the joy of the Liberals over the victory were mingled anxious fears as to the future action





FIG. 30. — The bombardment of Algiers on July 4, 1830. From a steel engraving by Skelton. (Versailles, Historical Gallery.)

of the court; for now it seemed that the *coup d'état*, so long in the air, must come. From foreign courts, however, there came warnings to the king; and the nuncio Lambruschini was the only one who urged him onward. Metternich, on the contrary, and even the Emperor Nicholas, advised earnestly against a violation of the charter. In vain; narrow and obstinate as Charles X. was, he did not comprehend why he should not succeed in that which had been done so easily by Dom Miguel in Portugal. But Polignac believed, with all seriousness, that he had promptings from above; and, confiding in the immediate help of heaven, he neglected to make any arrangement for defeating a possible opposition. The sole care of both was to guard the secret; and in childish glee they pleased themselves with the thought of the stunning effect with which the lightning would strike. To foreign diplomatists Charles denied the long settled purpose of a *coup d'état*, and to the deputies and peers summons were despatched for the opening of the chambers on August 3.

On the morning of July 26 the *Moniteur* published five ordinances. Citing Article 14 of the charter, which empowered the king in urgent circumstances to establish regulations in the manner of ordinances for the safety of the state, these enacted the suppression of freedom of the press, the dissolution of the chamber of deputies, the lessening of the number of members, the restriction of their rights, the changing of the electoral law, the convening of the new chambers on September 28, and the appointment of several councillors of state.

At first all appeared to go as desired. The population received the ordinances with indifference. The "National" published a protest, prepared by Thiers, of which thousands of copies were put in circulation. Thus the matter ended for the time. Charles X. had spent the whole day in hunting at Rambouillet, and on his return to St.-Cloud he was congratulated by the duchess of Berry on being now at last king.

But on the following day, the 27th, the legal resistance assumed more and more the shape of an insurrection. The police itself created a force of combatants for it among the workmen of the closed printing-offices, whose numbers were increased by the populace of the streets as well as by the pupils of the higher schools. Thirty-seven deputies and peers who were in Paris, having assembled at the house of Casimir Périer, also issued a protest. The appointment of Marmont, who on account of the capitulation of 1814 was regarded

as a traitor by every Frenchman, heightened the anger of the population. But although the marshal, instead of the promised 18,000, found only 11,000 men, several barricades that had been erected in the streets were taken without difficulty, and at evening quiet appeared to be re-established. During the following night the movement changed its character. Experienced conspirators took possession of it, and gave it a uniform organization. Lafayette undertook, not indeed publicly, but privately, the military leadership. The situation of the marshal and of his troops, who had little eagerness for the fight, and who were exposed to a hot fire from the windows, and found themselves surrounded on all sides by regular barricades, grew more dangerous. Twice he informed the king by letter of the increasing seriousness of the situation. But at St.-Cloud a feeling of absolute security prevailed; for the despatches sent by Polignac from the Tuileries were entirely confident in their purport, and the attempt of some deputies to mediate with Marmont was considered by him only as the harbinger of submission. The duke of Mortemart, who hastened to St.-Cloud in order to open the king's eyes with regard to the condition of affairs in Paris (Fig. 31), was not even admitted, for his majesty had already gone to bed.

On the morning of the 29th the struggle was renewed in the streets with increased violence. Marmont withdrew his weakened and wearied troops to concentrate them around the Louvre and the Tuileries, where he hoped to be able to sustain himself until the arrival of re-enforcements. The defection of two regiments of the line, who had been harangued by Casimir Périer, compelled him to evacuate the Louvre. On the retrograde movement the troops disbanded, and the Tuileries were lost also. Two hundred Swiss, heroic defenders of the Palais Bourbon, were put to the sword, or perished in the flames. Marmont arrived at St.-Cloud, the sole messenger of his defeat. Now first did the king, though unwillingly, commission the duke of Mortemart, who acted reluctantly, to form a new ministry, with Périer and Marshal Gérard as members; but still continuing to expect a counter-movement, he waited till six o'clock in the evening before sending to Paris intelligence of the change of ministry. With this it was thought at St.-Cloud that everything was settled. But the special leaders of the rising had established their headquarters at the Hôtel de Ville; and here the aged Lafayette, intoxicated by the homage of the multitude, suffered himself to be induced to assume the chief control. He put on his uniform of 1789, and the



committee did not venture to refuse him the supreme command of the reorganized National Guard. But the more plainly the desire became manifest at the Hôtel de Ville to prolong the disorder, so that, if possible, the republic might emerge from it, the more urgent



FIG. 4.—July 29, in Paris: Liberty leading the People. Painting by Ferdinand Victor Eugène Delacroix (1799-1863). (Paris, Luxembourg Palace.)

were the wishes of the committee to close the revolution as quickly as possible, and to effect a reconciliation with the dynasty. But the blindness and feebleness of the court itself played into the hands of those who sought to give the movement another direction.



For a long time past the growing unpopularity of the restored Bourbons had directed the eyes of Constitutionalists to the Duke Louis Philippe of Orleans, head of the younger line of the house of Bourbon. During his exile he had made his living in Switzerland by giving private lessons, and subsequently in America; and later he had lived in London on a pension from the English government. After the Restoration he had been to the Bourbons an object of dislike, even of suspicion, although he constantly manifested the greatest circumspection. He never took even the remotest part in any plot against the dynasty; but the citizen-like plainness of his manner of life and his familiar affability appeared like a mute protest against the principles and deportment of the other line. The duke on foot, with umbrella under his arm, was one of the typical forms in Paris; and his sons, like the children of ordinary citizens, attended the public schools. The opposition, with whose leaders, especially Laffitte, Dupin, and Sébastiani, he entertained confidential relations, saw in him the ideal of a liberal prince; and in journalism Thiers was his herald. Since Thiers was convinced that his theory of a true constitutional monarchy, which he pointedly expressed in the saying, "the king reigns but does not govern," could not be realized under the Bourbons, he aimed at a change of dynasty.

Now the adherents of this doctrine thought their time had come; for republicans and Bonapartists, as organized parties, were not yet ready. A proclamation issued by Thiers and Mignet recommended the displacement of Charles X. by the duke of Orleans, who never had borne arms against France, and at Jemmapes had fought under the tricolor. The next morning Thiers, commissioned by Laffitte and Sébastiani, hastened to the duke at Neuilly, the latter having been previously advised of the visit by Talleyrand. But in order not to be urged to premature decision, the duke had left for Raincy. This intelligence immediately gave a positive direction to the consultations of the deputies; and the desire to establish as quickly as possible an acknowledged government as a protection against civil war and anarchy harmonized almost all voices in the conclusion to intrust to the duke of Orleans the dignity of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. That was not a change of dynasty, but still a very decided step toward it.

In the duke conscientious thoughts were contending with the solicitations of ambition. Shortly before midnight he entered Paris.





The Duke of Orleans Proceeds from the Palais Royal to the Hôtel de Ville on  
July 31, 1830.

From a steel engraving by Laderer and Pourvoyeur: original painting by Horace Vernet (1789-1863). (Versailles.)

*History of All Nations, Vol. XVIII., page 151.*



After an interview with Mortemart, and listening to the deputies, he declared his acceptance of the proffered dignity. The proclamation announcing this, as well as the restoration of the tricolor and the summoning of the chambers, closed with the words: "Hereafter the charter will be a reality."

With this, however, only the first half of the task was done. For the headquarters of the Revolution, at the Hôtel de Ville, denounced as treachery this arbitrary proceeding of the deputies, and were disposed to offer resistance. It was therefore found to be necessary that the duke should then obtain the popular consecration of his authority. It was an anxious and disorderly expedition which moved to the Hôtel de Ville (PLATE X.), the duke on horseback, and many deputies at the head of the procession. His reception was cold. Lafayette, courted by both sides, was more undecided than ever; but dread of the great responsibility urged him to the party of Orleans. Arm in arm, and decked with the tricolor, they both showed themselves at the window to the rejoicing multitude. By his appointment to be commander-in-chief of all the National Guards Lafayette's vanity was satisfied.

What was done by the king, who had become utterly weak, for the maintenance of his throne, came altogether too late. He was placed in a condition of great security at Rambouillet, attended by the troops who had remained faithful. The brave young duchess of Berry offered to hasten to Paris with her son in order to save the throne for him, but the court could not comprehend such courage. Charles X. himself now sent once more to the duke of Orleans, appointing him lieutenant-general. This threw the latter into no small perplexity; but upon Laffitte's and Dupin's advice he declined this offer, since he held his appointment by the will of the people. Hereupon the king informed his cousin, on August 2, that he and the dauphin abdicated the throne in favor of the duke of Bordeaux, and demanded of him to resume the regency for the minor king, "Henry V." But Louis answered the king evasively; and when, on August 3, he communicated to the chambers the renunciation of the throne by Charles X., he was silent as regards the fact that it was resigned in favor of his grandson. In order, however, to be able to seat himself upon the vacated throne, it needed to be really empty; and at Rambouillet, surrounded by his faithful regiments, the uncrowned king continued to be an object of anxiety to the capital. The National Guard was called out, and there was gathered together a



mass of fully 20,000 men. Purposely deceived as to the magnitude of the danger, Charles X. consented to depart. But with slow and solemn procession, observing the most rigorous ceremonial, the funeral train of the ancient monarchy moved onward to Cherbourg; there Charles embarked on August 16 for England.

Fear of a far-reaching Revolution drove the chambers, at the opening of which about half of the members were present, to make haste. On the 6th Lafayette was obliged to silence a band of his 'friends' who had broken into the place of session. The maintenance of the monarchy was secured; but the Liberal party sought to impose conditions which were incompatible with its existence, and degraded it to a nominal magistracy. The violated charter had been the banner under which they rose against Charles X.; but the democratic appetite, and the longing of the French national mind to treat the state as a lifeless mass, without reference to its past history, and to be ever transforming it according to the fashion of the day, did not allow the thought of maintaining the charter without alteration. The fateful Article 14 was stricken out. The rights of the chamber of deputies received an enlargement in the election of the presidents, the initiative in regard to proposing laws, and the authority to impeach ministers. The requirement of age for the deputies was reduced from forty to thirty years, the reintroduction of the censorship was prohibited, 'Religion of the State' was changed into 'Cult of the Majority,' the 'King of France' into 'King of the French,' and the charter and all the rights sanctioned by it were intrusted to the patriotism and courage of the National Guard. A violent opposition was expressed to the hereditary character of the peerage; but for the present it sufficed — as proposed by Guizot — to expel all the peers appointed by Charles X. Simultaneously with the proclamation of the new charter there followed the elevation of the duke of Orleans to the throne, according to Dupin's expression, "not because, but although a Bourbon," yet not as Philip VII., since it appeared unseemly for the republican monarchy to be considered a continuation of the ancient line of kings, but as Louis Philippe I. On the 9th he took the oath (PLATE XI.); and after pressing the hands of many deputies, and even of the National Guards, the new king left the hall, and the Revolution of July was accomplished.



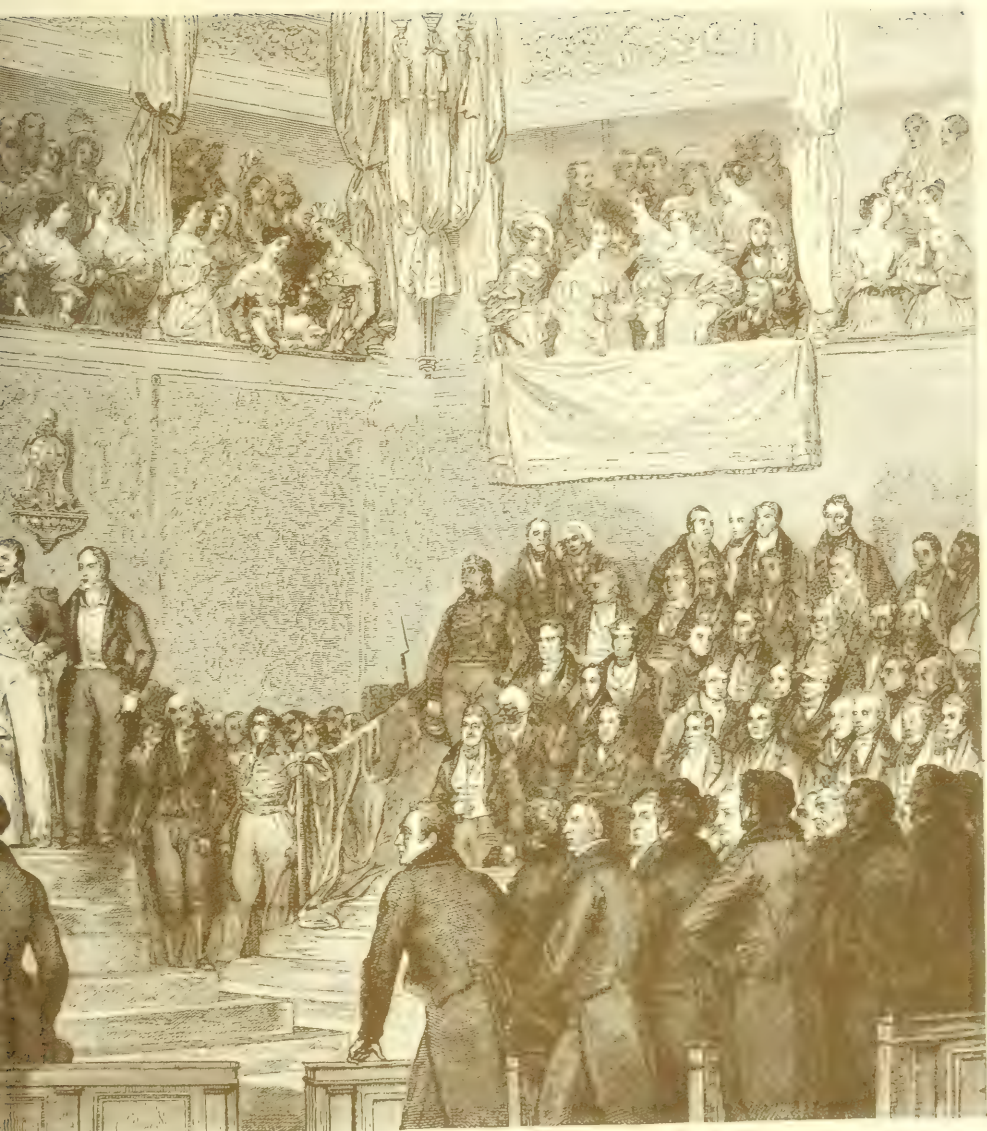


The Duke of Orleans (Louis Philippe I.) takes the oath to 1

Reduced facsimile of an engraving by Frilley of the painti

*History of All Nations, Vol. XVIII., page 152.*

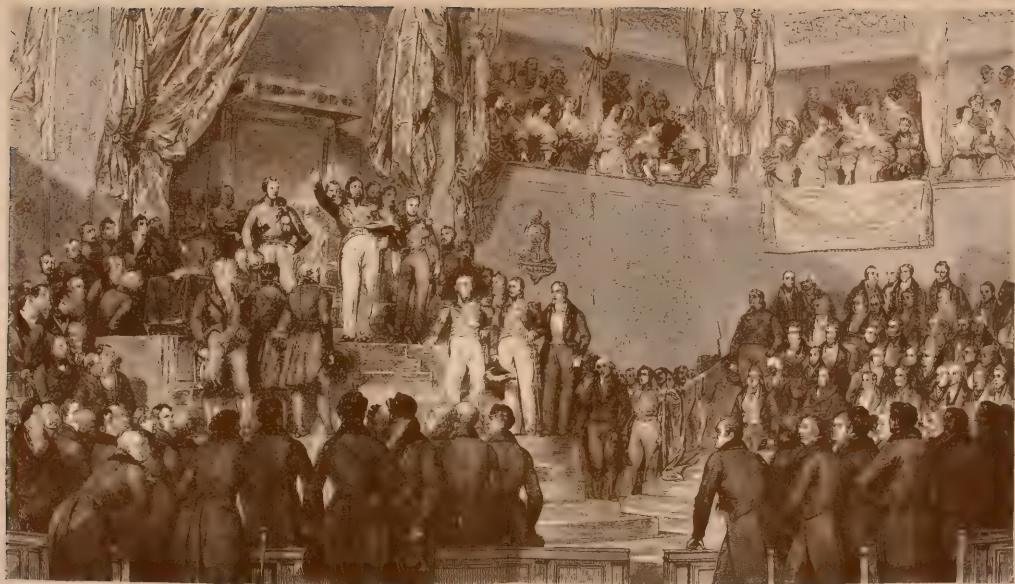




Constitution on August 9, 1830, in presence of the Chambers.

• Eugène Deveria (1805-1875). (Versailles, Historical Gallery.)





The Duke of Orleans (Louis Philippe I.) takes the oath to the Constitution on August 9, 1830, in presence of the Chambers.

Reduced facsimile of an engraving by Frilley of the painting by Eugène Delacroix 1805-1875. (Versailles, Historical Gallery.)

*History of All Nations, Vol. XVIII, page 52*



Constitution on August 9, 1830, in presence of the Chambers.

Eugène Deveria (1805-1875). (Versailles, Historical Gallery.)



BOOK II.

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THE MONARCHY OF JULY.





# THE MONARCHY OF JULY.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE IMMEDIATE RESULTS OF THE REVOLUTION OF JULY.

BY the expedition to the Hôtel de Ville, Louis Philippe gave proof of personal courage; but the danger of the moment was overcome by an exchange of a great, an incurable, future evil. While he was obtaining for himself, from the Revolution, permission to mount the throne, he dragged irreparably in the dust the dignity, the moral consideration, of monarchy. What wonder if the revolutionary party claimed the right to watch over this monarchy, to see whether the treaty avowedly concluded at the Hôtel de Ville was honorably observed on the part of the king; and if it never was at a loss for a protest to justify its factious animosity and even open opposition?

As always, the country submitted to the orders of the capital without a will of its own; consequently external order was established with surprising rapidity. But with the disappearance of the barricades the Revolution did not at all disappear. There was nothing whatever that received such lavish praise. The heroes of the day were the men who in the glorious days of July had overthrown legal order. The press, intoxicated with the part it had played, forgot all restrictions upon itself, believed in its own omnipotence, and confided in its impunity. The secret societies were transformed into clubs; and these held their meetings every evening, and dismissed their visitors with confused ideas and inflamed passions. Thousands remained upon the streets, whither they had gone on the 28th of July, compelled to continue there in part by necessity, for the sudden stagnation of traffic and industry, the natural result of the Revolution, left them without bread. It was necessary to appropriate 100,000,000 francs in order to give them employment; but the workingmen asked themselves whether that was the reward for

their highly lauded heroism, and the government in its weakness had nothing to oppose to their excesses but submissive proclamations, with the courteous invitation not to violate the laws too grossly or humble the crown too deeply.

The personality of the new king was little adapted to meet difficulties of this kind. Louis Philippe had during his long exile acquired the virtues of a private citizen, but at the expense of the peculiar qualities needed by a ruler. Honorable as was the simplicity of his habits, this yet prejudiced the dignity that was requisite. The 'citizen king' affected habitually the feelings and customs of the people, and forgot that a king should be more than a citizen. Under the continued impression of the conflicting reminiscences of his youth, he feared revolutionary ideas, and yet shared them to a certain extent. The Revolution he regarded as an irresistible power which could not be assailed directly, but must be escaped from by address, and put to sleep with blandishments. Hence his efforts always to shun the difficulties of the moment, and his readiness to treat the populace as his good comrades. He was wont pleasantly to call to mind the part which he had taken in the Revolution of 1789, and declared himself in theory almost a republican. But this kingdom placed on the same level with the multitude could not complain if it experienced affronts from them.

In the parliamentary majority from whom the Revolution had proceeded the new monarchy failed to find the fulcrum of which it had need, for this was a majority formed only for a campaign of opposition. With regard to the repeal of the law concerning sacrilege, the restoration of the jury for the trial of offences by the press, and even the recall of the banished regicides, unanimity had prevailed. But soon a party of movement separated from a party of resistance; and the king held it as the best course, for the purpose of avoiding first of all an open conflict, to tack between both with calculated neutrality. The inability to declare in favor of one party positively was reflected again in bringing together his first ministry. In number the party of resistance, at their head Count Molé and the duke of Broglie, possessed the ascendancy; but its members were at variance among themselves. The nearest matter of importance was the division of the booty, and this the greater part conceived to be the essence of the Revolution. Whoever had played a part of any kind in the July days considered himself entitled to a reward. There began a wild chase after places, accompanied with low denuncia-

tions; and the most violent democrats were not the most diffident in this pursuit. Lafayette, already dissatisfied, and having for that reason crossed over to the opposition, was the complaisant patron of this clientage, for whom by wholesale removals places must be created. The army also was purged by the dismissal of one hundred and thirty superior officers.

This weakness of the government contributed to prolong the revolutionary condition, the confused ferment of men's minds, and the inclination to acts of violence of every kind. The discontent of citizens rose higher in the same proportion in which the business crisis increased. There occurred again the awakening of the tiger nature of 1793 in the populace of Paris. In order to save from it the four of the last ministers of Charles X., who had been seized in their flight and put under indictment, and to secure for the Revolution of July the praise of moderation, the chambers, shortly before separation, addressed a request to the king that he would propose the suppression of the death-penalty for political offences. But a wild and loathsome mob, full of rage of being deprived of its victims, rushed to Vincennes (October 17), demanding the blood of the prisoners; and they would have obtained it, had it not been for the determination of the wooden-legged commandant, Daumesnil, who alone confronted them fearlessly. Scarcely did the coming up of the National Guard (Fig. 32) spare the king in the Palais Royal a repetition of the 20th of June, 1792. Shame at these scenes brought to maturity in the minds of the conservative members of the cabinet — Guizot and his friends — the purpose to retire. Three days later, on November 2, a new ministry was formed with Laffitte as premier.

Laffitte, who under the Restoration had thrown himself into the most violent opposition, less from political conviction than out of plebeian jealousy towards an aristocracy of birth, and from a thirst for popularity, regarded himself as one of the 'king-makers,' quaffed in full measure the flatteries with which the king overwhelmed him, as well as the tokens of the favor of the multitude; but, superficial and destitute of all statesmanlike ability, he did homage to the faith in the beneficent power of the Revolution. His whole policy consisted in letting things go as they might, and in never opposing those whose ill-will might prove inconvenient. No wonder that under the new cabinet matters did not improve in the least. The king did not appear to be the chief of the state, but Lafayette, who had not yet come out from his recollections of 1791, and now stood at the pin-



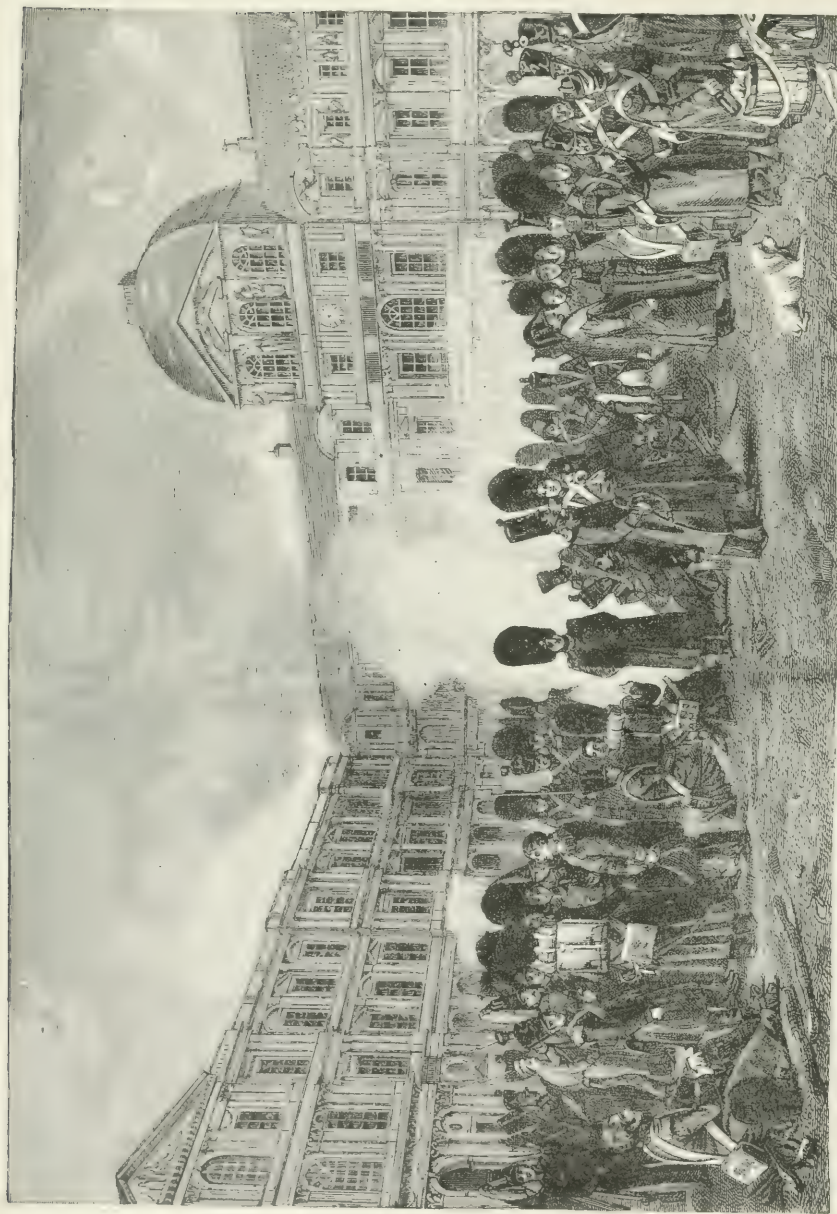


FIG. 32. — Bivouac of the National Guard in the court of the Louvre, on the night of December 22, 1830. From the steel engraving by Thibault; original painting by Gassies. (In the Historical Gallery at Versailles.)

nacle of popular favor. The party leaders profited by the vanity of the old seigneur, in order under his name to erect a true democratic sub-government by the side of the legitimate. To what a point of self-degradation the government had fallen could be seen still more plainly in the demonstrations occasioned by the obsequies of Benjamin Constant, during the trial of the accused ministers before the chamber of peers. The Luxembourg Palace, where this trial occurred, was continually surrounded by a threatening, raging multitude. Instead of an armed force, only Lafayette and Odilon Barrot were to be seen, who sought to pacify their dear friends. The young minister, Count Montalivet, succeeded in safely bringing the accused in a close carriage to Vincennes. The court of peers sentenced them to imprisonment for life; on Polignac, besides, civil death was inflicted. Upon this the wrath of the people threatened to explode in open revolution. Although informed in advance of the purpose to disturb the religious ceremonial observed by the Legitimists on the anniversary of the duke of Berry's death, the government remained inactive spectators while the populace stormed the church of St-Germain l'Auxerrois, on February 14, 1831, and then also the archbishop's palace, and ruined them in the most outrageous manner. The government was even guilty of the cowardice of throwing the blame upon the Legitimists; warrants of arrests were issued against them, and it acknowledged in the *Moniteur* "the righteous indignation of the people." To appease this indignation, the crosses were removed from the churches, the royal lilies from public buildings, from the royal carriages, and the reliefs from the triumphal arches that celebrated Angoulême's Spanish campaign.

Shame and indignation now seized upon every thoughtful mind. From all sides arose the cry to put an end to a policy which must infallibly precipitate the monarchy of July into the abyss of anarchy. The party of order rose up. Under their reproaches and attacks Laffitte's position was broken down, and the king suffered him to fall. On March 12 he took his dismissal, a broken and ruined man. For in consequence of unforeseen business troubles he had been compelled shortly before to suspend the payments of his banking-house.

His successor was Casimir Périer, like him a member of one of the first banking-houses in Paris. Although he had hitherto appeared only as the ardent opponent of the Ultras under the Restoration, and as yet had given no proofs of his talents for government,

yet all eyes were directed to this one man as of necessity the deliverer. Périer assumed the presidency of the ministry only upon definite conditions: that the council of ministers should no longer, as heretofore, meet in the presence of the king; that all matters to be introduced should first be brought to him and then laid before the king; and, lastly, nothing should be published in the *Moniteur* without his assent. Taught by the disorder and dissensions of the preceding government, he desired of his colleagues unconditional adherence to his programme. His next concern was to put an end to the insubordination of officials. Membership in the *Association Nationale*, founded under the aegis of Lafayette, was forbidden without regard to the clamor of the Left; and whoever did not obey the prohibition was summarily dismissed. The chambers were dissolved; and although the new elections returned a strong opposition, he yet succeeded in obtaining, in the body now chosen, a trustworthy conservative majority. All this was done not from thirst for power or personal vanity, but in order to maintain the struggle against the Revolution, and to cure the monarchy of July, which he had not aided in making, of the evil inherent in its origin. And while all round about him, beginning with the king, bowed their necks in fear before the sovereign populace, he alone possessed self-confidence and the assurance that he needed only firmness in order not merely to strengthen externally the shattered state and to establish order in the streets, but also to restore in the minds of men the profoundly shaken moral order, the sense of duty, right, and law. "Order at home without detriment to freedom, and peace abroad without prejudice to honor," was the simple purport of his programme; and for both, he cried to the chamber, there was need of one thing only, — that France should be governed.

The state immediately felt the strong hand at the helm, especially in connection with foreign affairs, which by the Revolution of July had fallen into disorder. Never since the downfall of the empire had the diplomatic situation of France been so favorable as in the year 1830, when Metternich, as well as the Czar Nicholas, by secret proffers were soliciting the alliance of that country. The Revolution of July, and the loud clamors of the victorious heroes of the Paris barricades against the treaties of 1815, cemented again the loosened league of the eastern powers. Metternich came to an understanding at Karlsbad with the Russian chancellor, Nesselrode, at least with regard to this one thing, — to refrain, indeed, from interference in



the internal disorders of France, but to suffer no disturbance of external and internal peace on the part of France. To have protected his country at this crisis from the peril of a foreign war which it did not desire, and for which it was not prepared, is the unquestionable merit of Louis Philippe. The appointment of Count Molé as minister of foreign affairs, and of Talleyrand as ambassador to London, signified respect for the treaties. The least difficulty in recognizing the throne of July was made by Wellington's Tory ministry, partly on account of the resentment still felt, caused by Polignac's expedition against Algiers, partly out of regard to the feeling in his own country, which was indebted for its dynasty to a similar revolution. Nicholas of Russia yielded to passionate anger. He sent Field-Marshal Diebitsch to Berlin, and Count Orloff to Vienna, in order if possible to effect an agreement for an immediate attack upon France. But King Frederick William did not share this warlike zeal, which would have thrown into fresh disorder the finances of his state. It was decided to abandon France to herself, but also to ward off any attack from that quarter with all possible force. The example of England was followed for the purpose of facilitating the task of Louis Philippe in maintaining internal order.

But before this question of public law was solved, it was proved that the Revolution of July, even without direct propagandism, was extending its effects far beyond the boundaries of France. The completion of this revolution in three days, the unexampled moderation and magnanimity shown by the victors, excited admiration everywhere, increased the belief in the irresistible nature of the people's power, and demanded imitation from the widely spread discontent with existing conditions. In different places in Italy and Germany movements of the people broke out; in Belgium and Poland real revolutions.

The infection seized first upon the neighboring country of Belgium. Its union with the former republic of Holland to form the kingdom of the Netherlands would have erected a strong barrier against the return of French efforts at conquest; but the attempt to weld together two populations, in descent, language, historical development, religious and economical relations absolutely diverse, had only occasioned a collision which rendered it altogether impossible that they should grow together in peace. The Catholic party, which had counted upon the absolute restoration of old conditions, now



saw itself suddenly placed under a Calvinistic dynasty. In the assembly of notables, who were to be reconciled to the changes rendered necessary by the extension to Belgium of the Dutch constitution of March 30, 1814, there was made, under the leadership of the Bishop of Ghent, Prince Maurice de Broglie, a vehement protest against a constitution which contained the principle of religious liberty. This same bishop had refused in 1817 to offer the *Te Deum* at the birth of a heretical heir to the throne; and after he had withdrawn from punishment by flight, he did not cease stirring up from a distance the fires of religious animosity. In the ignorance of the people, and in the longing of the nobles for their old privileges, and their aversion to the rising industrial aristocracy, this agitation found congenial soil. After the accession of Charles X. to the throne, it rejoiced also in support from France. The prohibition to attend foreign Jesuit schools strengthened the woeful outcry against the intolerance of the government; and most unfortunately the administration made enemies of the very persons to whom it had turned for support in the conflict with the clericals. That the government, after the majority of the nobles had rejected the constitution, pronounced it accepted, reckoning the absent as consenting, was an oppressive act, the more sensibly felt by the Belgians, since they regarded themselves as wronged in the number of representatives as also in the administration, the Hollanders in the army and elsewhere being put before them. Furthermore, the personality of the obstinate and avaricious king, William I., was little calculated to win his new subjects; and the reactionary rule of his minister, van Maanen, contributed to induce the Liberals and Clericals to unite together in the 'Constitutional Association.' The special originator of this combination of two elements, in themselves so foreign to each other, was the rich and ambitious Louis de Potter. Out of the prison, to which the violence of his political agitation had brought him, he gave the watchword: "Liberty for all, and in all."

Here, therefore, the effect of the news of the Revolution of July was like a spark of fire in a barrel of gunpowder. Placards publicly announced for the popular festival in Brussels on the king's birthday, August 24: "on Monday, fireworks; Tuesday, illumination; Wednesday, revolution." The performance of the opera, "The Mutes," by Portici, unfortunately selected for the festival, let loose the incensed multitude. The weak garrison withdrew to the royal castle,

a national guard was formed, and a commission of citizens established. The prince of Orange, a frivolous and vain youth who brought forward troops, was induced to come into the city wearing the tricolor of Brabant, and there the promise of a merely personal union between the crowns was extorted from him. But the concession was no longer sufficient for the people, incited by French emissaries and clerical instigators. The commission of citizens gave place to a radical central commission; and when Prince Frederick marched up with 10,000 men, it prepared in such a manner for his reception that he refrained from an attack in force, and confined himself to firing for three days from the upper town upon the lower town, and then departed on September 27. After blood had once flowed, 'personal union' no longer sufficed. A provisional government, formed on the 25th, declared the separation of Belgium from Holland; and when, after a fruitless and quite equivocal attempt of the prince of Orange to place himself at the head of the movement, the commandant of the citadel of Antwerp, General Chassé, on being summoned to surrender, replied by a fearful cannonading of the city from three hundred guns, the last bridge of conciliation was broken down.

This rising of the Belgians, in connection with the simultaneous disturbances breaking out in different parts of Germany, and the evident proximity of an insurrection in Italy, fully justified the worst apprehensions as to the possibility of maintaining peace. Without doubt King William possessed the right, according to international law, to claim assistance from the powers that had given being to his state; and the Emperor Nicholas unhesitatingly declared the time had arrived for armed intervention, placed 50,000 men on a war-footing, and gladly would have swept Prussia along with him. Fortunately the sound and clear sense of King Frederick William III. refused to bring on the war, which, it is true, he also considered probable; he satisfied himself with stationing on the Rhine three army corps under the command of Prince William. The vanity of the Parisians, on the other hand, hailed in the Brussels insurrection the firstborn child of their own Revolution. Never would they have suffered that the kingdom of the Netherlands, formerly established against France, should be re-established by the armed forces of the Holy Alliance. But France was not ready for hostilities. From this perplexity Molé relieved himself by setting up the principle of non-intervention, the exact opposite of that which the

eastern powers had announced at Troppau. Metternich was greatly enraged that it had been the fortune of Talleyrand to separate England from her old allies, and to win her over to France. By the firm assurance that the latter contemplated no incorporation of Belgium, and no rectification of boundaries whatever, Talleyrand succeeded in inducing the Wellington ministry, for the sake of peace, to withdraw its supporting hand from its favorite creation. On October 3 Wellington issued an invitation to the great powers to commit the settlement of the Belgian question to the conference of ambassadors at London. Thus was the immediate danger of war removed; but virtually, also, the independence of Belgium was already announced.

Encouraged by the accession of the Whigs in England, and of Laffitte in France, to the head of the government, the national congress, which met in Brussels on November 18, solemnly declared the independence of Belgium. The question regarding the form to be given to the new state was decided as well contrary to the wishes of the party of Gendebien, inclined to France, as of the Republicans under de Potter, and in favor of the bold proposal by young Nothomb of a constitutional monarchy, excluding, however, the House of Nassau-Orange. This was more than the eastern powers desired to grant; but on November 29 the revolution in Warsaw broke out; a few days, and all Poland was in flames. Thus there remained, in truth, nothing for the powers to do but to leave Belgium to her fate. The London conference on December 20 acknowledged in principle the separation of Belgium from the Netherlands, with reservation of the rights of the king, as well as of the German Confederation, to Luxemburg. But the greed of the congress at Brussels had already risen so far that it defiantly rejected this reservation, and, besides Limburg, laid claim to Luxemburg also. The principal danger, however, was still threatening from Paris, where Laffitte's feeble 'let alone' policy showed itself to be wholly incompetent to check the bellicose rashness of the 'movement' party. Fortunately the king supported with all his personal influence the efforts of Talleyrand. From von Bülow, the Prussian ambassador, the proposal came, that in order to remove the apprehension occasioned by the weakening of the system of defences erected toward France, Belgium be converted into a neutral state, like Switzerland. On January 20, 1831, the Conference established the following as principles regulating the separation: The frontier of 1790, perpetual

neutrality, free navigation of the rivers, and a proportionate division of the debt of the state. They assigned Luxemburg to the king of the Netherlands. Pursuant to a secret stipulation of April 17 the fortresses on the border, specially exposed to be surprised by the French, were to be demolished.

King William submitted, though reluctantly, to this decision. Not so the Brussels congress. In Paris Lafayette formed the meeting-point of a regular revolutionary diplomacy : all conspirators and insurgents in Europe had in him their trusted agent. But Louis Philippe and Talleyrand also, assiduously as they exhibited their love of peace, played a double part. The conference forced upon Talleyrand the clause, notwithstanding all opposition, that no one of the five powers in the Belgian matter shall ever seek or accept any special advantage. Notwithstanding this, Louis Philippe encouraged privately the party among the Belgians who turned their eyes to his second son, the duke of Nemours, as a candidate for the new throne ; and although Palmerston signified that the election of Nemours would give good ground for war, and in consonance with this the conference expressly excluded all members of the four great European dynasties from the Belgian throne, yet in the election of king, on February 4, the majority of votes fell to the French prince.

Spoiled by their previous success, the Belgians showed signs of bidding defiance to the conference. But Palmerston's declaration that never would England for the sake of peace be beguiled into accepting an insult in word or deed from France, compelled Louis Philippe to decline the throne offered to his son.

The Belgians, perceiving that without agreement with the conference they could not go forward, now began to favor the candidacy of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, a candidacy supported by England, and not objectionable to Louis Philippe. On June 4 the election of the prince by the congress followed, but with the condition that he should swear to the boundaries established in the constitution of February 7. Advised by his confidant, Stockmar, he refused at once to accept under this condition ; not until he had secured from the conference, in the eighteen articles subscribed on June 26, a division of the debt more advantageous to the Belgians, while the Luxemburg question continued provisionally suspended, did he accept the throne : and the congress possessed sufficient discernment to comply with these conditions. On July 21 the new king entered Brussels, and took the oath to the constitution.



The explanation of this yielding on the part of the powers lay in the great tension of the general situation of Europe. This was further increased by King William, who was not at all disposed to allow his country and his rights to be disposed of according to the opinion of others, and refused to accept the eighteen articles. Confiding in his army, which meanwhile had been admirably prepared, he announced the close of the armistice, and on August 4 50,000 Dutch crossed the Belgian frontier. To make head against such a power with his untried militia was not to be thought of by King Leopold (Fig. 33). He called upon England and France for help. The appeal to the former power was in vain. Périer saw himself confronted by a grave responsibility. Should he abandon Belgium in a conflict which also nearly touched the interests of France, or in contradiction of his peace programme, suffer himself to be drawn into a war in which he might be opposed by a formidable coalition? The first seemed utterly impossible; consequently Marshal Gérard received orders forthwith to cross the frontier. He came in good time to save in its extremity the Belgian army, which was beaten and surrounded. England now peremptorily demanded the retreat as well of the Netherlands troops as of the French. The conference imposed a truce on both parties. Périer complied; and thus matters from the threatened decision by force of arms turned again into the path of diplomatic negotiation. On October 14 the conference, by virtue of the power of umpirage which it had attributed to itself, pronounced its irrevocable decree in the form of the 'Twenty-four Articles,' whose acceptance by both parties the conference declared that it would enforce if necessary. In order to re-establish the geographical connection of Maestricht with the Netherlands, the portion of Limburg on the right side of the Meuse was assigned to the latter; of Luxemburg only the Walloon part was given to the Belgians; and on the latter, as their part of the common debt, a yearly payment of 8,400,000 florins was imposed, while they were to obtain the free navigation of the Schelde, and of the waters between the Schelde and the Rhine. Not without the exercise of great self-restraint did King Leopold comply with these conditions. After he had prevailed upon the chambers to adopt the treaty, peace was signed at London on November 15.

The only question now remaining related to the demolition of the fortresses. The French cabinet left no arts untried in order to interfere likewise in this matter, but in vain. The four powers, excluding

France, despatched the business: and nothing was left for France but to put a good face on an unsuccessful game. Meanwhile, at the



FIG. 33. — Leopold I., King of the Belgians. From the sketch by Braunard, 1841.

very last moment, the peaceful arrangement of a transaction carried through amid so many difficulties threatened to miscarry on account of the stubbornness of King William, who, although the thronosucce-

powers had also ratified the treaty, refused to evacuate the citadel of Antwerp, and consequently the Belgians now on their side kept possession of the part of Limburg promised to the Netherlands. On October 1, 1832, the western powers made public their determination to employ forcible measures against Holland. The eastern powers opposed, and this division of sentiment led to the dissolution of the conference. The Soult ministry, which assumed power in Paris on October 11, felt the urgent necessity of making the opposition respect them by assuming an energetic initiative abroad. On the basis of an agreement with England, an embargo was imposed on all Dutch ships in English and French harbors; the harbors of Holland were blockaded; and for the second time Marshal Gérard advanced into Belgium, and by bombarding the citadel of Antwerp forced General Chassé to capitulate on December 23, whereupon he withdrew across the frontier. This measure brought King William at least to a recognition of the *status quo*; but for the final adjustment the country was obliged to wait yet full six years, until King William yielded to the voice of his people, who were weary of the increasing burdens, and was reconciled to the acceptance of the Twenty-four Articles. On April 19, 1839, the peace was ratified by all parties. In place of the portion of Luxemburg that had become Belgian, the duchy of Limburg entered the German Confederation.

The Netherlands, whose king in the following year abdicated in favor of his son, William II. (who reigned till 1849), suffered for a long time on account of the excessive efforts put forth to subdue the Belgian revolution, and was indebted for the postponement of financial ruin to the revenues from the Indian colonies. These were augmented to an extraordinary extent by the economical system introduced by Governor van der Bosch,—compulsory labor of the natives for the government on a designated number of days, exclusion of private competition, and the rendering of colonization by Europeans more difficult. The young Belgian state also experienced at first very grievously the evils resulting from the separation; but being favored by the industry of her inhabitants, and the richness of the soil in coal and ores, soon rose to be the first manufacturing state on the Continent. Thanks especially to the sagacity and integrity of her sovereign, Belgium was regarded for many years as the model of a constitutional state; but at the same time furnished the first instructive experiment, showing whither the complete separation of the church from the state leads. The unnatural alliance between the



Clericals and Liberals was dissolved immediately after the attainment of their common object, to give place to the bitterest hostilities on the one side and the other.

No similar favor of fortune smiled upon the struggle of the Poles to regain their independence, notwithstanding the heroic courage with which it was conducted.

It was not intolerable, tyrannic oppression which led the Poles into revolt. Never, either before or after the loss of their national existence, had they enjoyed such a measure of civil freedom, of comfort and prosperity, as since the year 1815 under the Russian sceptre. But to enjoy these benefits peacefully and thankfully did not lie in their character; the sentiment remained of passionate grief caused by foreign rule and by the dismemberment of their nation, but without the perception that for both they themselves were guilty. Instead of thanks, the Emperor Alexander, the author of their constitution, gained from them only ill-will and deceit. The brief liberal dream of conciliation was followed by restriction and retraction of the grant on the one side, and on the other by exasperation and hatred. It was not long before Poland was as much undermined as Russia by secret societies. Between the Russian Decembrists and the Polish conspirators there existed the closest relations; to the latter belonged, besides the entire body of students, a large part of the younger army officers, nearly all the petty nobles impoverished through indolence, together with many laborers, but not a single man distinguished by rank or personal consideration. Thus there was existing in that country at the moment when the Revolution of July occurred a condition of latent warfare between government and subjects. Although warned many times, the viceroy, Grand Duke Constantine, did not believe in the approach of an insurrection, and continued by his brutalities to outrage the Poles, even the most eminent, until the intelligence that the arrest of several conspirators had been ordered from St. Petersburg, combined with the hope of a universal conflagration enkindled by France, and the fear that in the event of war breaking out the Polish regiments would be despatched westward to be replaced by Russian troops, drove the people to a premature outbreak. In the evening of November 29 a band of students and members of the military schools surprised the palace of the grand duke, who escaped by flight: his adjutant-general and the chief of police were slain; the Polish regiments



mutinied; the whole city fell into the hands of the insurgents; and when the viceroy, who lost his head, withdrew thence across the frontier with the Russian troops and the authorities, the Revolution was seen to be in possession of an army admirably equipped, of two fortresses, — Modlin and Zamose, — and a fully ordered system of government. After some delay the city was followed by the country; the peasants, who by Russian rule had been freed from the oppression of the nobility, were swept along into the Revolution by the influence of the priests.

Next to the rising of the Greeks, no insurrection abroad was greeted with such lively sympathy as that of the Poles in 1830; yet little was done by them to prove that they were worthy of it. Scarcely did they feel that they were their own masters, when, unwarned by the fearful lessons of their history, they immediately renewed strife among themselves. There was dissension between the aristocrats under Prince Czartoryski, who held to a personal union with Russia, and the democrats under Lelewel, a professor at Vilna, who desired complete independence and a republic. To this contention *Chlopicki* (Fig. 34) for the time being put an end by force, when, ‘in the name of the king,’ he took possession of the dictatorship, with approbation of the moderate party. But what an idle dream to promise themselves assent to the national demands from the czar, to whom the Polish constitution had always been an abomination! The Emperor Nicholas’s reply consisted in a manifesto of December 18, in which he summoned his people to arms to chastise the faithless rebels. “We will enter Warsaw,” he cried, “if we must wade to our ankles in blood!” Of the two other powers who had shared in the partition, Prussia was satisfied with mobilizing the army corps lying nearest, for the purpose of watching the frontiers, and Austria confined herself to the observance of strict neutrality. On the other hand, the hopes of the Poles to receive foreign aid proved altogether delusive, as well those built upon the victory of the democracy in Paris, as those upon England. Palmerston declared his utter inability to do anything for them. The holding back on the part of the moderates had therefore effected nothing but to lose without advantage the time when the Poles with their 40,000 regular troops, and an equal number of scythe-men and Cracussians (i.e., light cavalry), might have attacked unprepared Russia with a prospect of success. The discontent at this turn of affairs compelled *Chlopicki* to retire. The democrats came into complete ascendancy.

On January 25, 1831, the parliament solemnly declared the dethronement of the house of Romanoff.

But already Diebitsch Sabalkanski was on his march over the frozen swamps of Lithuania with an army of 118,000 men. Before the gates of Warsaw, Chlopicki, who, forgetting all grievances,



FIG. 31. — Chlopicki. From the painting by Glowinski.

assumed the chief command in place of his incompetent successor, Prince Radziwill, made head against the enemy with unexampled valor. After murderous engagements at Wavre and Grochow on February 19 and 25, Diebitsch retreated, to wait for spring and for re-enforcements, and thus put it in the power of Skrzynecki, the successor of Chlopicki — who was severely wounded — to fall upon

General Rosen, at Iganie, on April 10, to capture from him 10,000 prisoners, and enable General Dwiernicki to make an inroad into Volhynia and Podolia. In Lithuania the Countess Plater and the ruthless Matussewicz put themselves at the head of the insurrection. But Skrzynecki's (Fig. 35) ability as a commander was not equal to his valor. On May 26, at Ostrolenka on the Narew, he suffered a defeat which irrevocably decided the fate of Poland. The incompetent Gielgud, who had thrown himself into Lithuania, allowed



FIG. 35. — Skrzynecki. From the steel engraving by G. W. Lehmann.

himself to be defeated by Sacken at Vilna, on June 19. He was driven across the Prussian frontier, and shot down as a traitor by one of his officers. Dwiernicki, after a masterly retreat through Volhynia to Austrian soil, was also disarmed.

As suddenly as if a higher Power had sent help to the vanquished, the cholera for the first time began its fearful course through Europe, from Russia westward. In St. Petersburg the emperor himself went fearlessly among the raging multitude, and at the command of his

voice of thunder they all sank upon their knees to entreat God for deliverance. Now the destroying angel reached the theatre of war. On June 10 Diebitsch was snatched away; on the 17th the Grand Duke Constantine fell a victim; and on the 24th Gneisenau, who commanded the Prussian army of observation. But the deadly pest could only delay for a short time the subjugation of Poland, not prevent it. Worse than disaster in the field was the demoralization prevailing within, — party rage, and passion for intrigue, suspicion of treachery, the insubordination of



demagogues, aiming by means of clubs to control the government, and creating disturbance in the army. After Skrzynceki's removal Dembinski was indeed ready to take command of the leaderless army; but the new government, appointed by the populace of Warsaw, intrusted that office to Malachowski, a brave man, but enfeebled by age. The passionate fury of the multitude rejected both the mild terms offered by Paskevitch, the new Russian commander-in-chief, and the convention made by the government on September 6, after Wola, the key of Warsaw, had been taken by storm. The murderous conflict burst forth anew; and on the 8th, after a desperate resistance, Warsaw was forced to surrender unconditionally. The last remnants of the Polish army, 21,000 men and 95 cannon, commanded by Rybinski, crossed the Prussian frontier, and were disarmed.

Since Waterloo and Navarino no event had moved Europe so deeply as the fall of Warsaw. No one inquired concerning the grievous guilt of the Poles in the downfall of their country. In the sympathy for the fugitives, seeking an asylum in a foreign land, there was mingled detestation of Russian absolutism which punished the insurrection by the suppression of the constitution (regarded as forfeited), by multiplied confiscations, and by a relentless system of Russification applied to the vanquished; and a part of this detestation fell also upon the governments that had rendered aid to Russia or suffered her unhindered to act her pleasure.

In the peninsula of the Apennines, also, the Revolution of July was followed by a rising of the patriots. The first outbreak was to occur at Modena. Here the duke, Francis IV., through the rich manufacturer, Menotti, stood connected personally with the conspirators, though only to play the unprincely part of spy and traitor. At the critical moment he caused the deceived men to be surrounded and arrested. Warned by him six days before, on February 2, at Rome, the conclave of cardinals had hastened to fill the papal chair, vacant since the death of Pius VIII. (November 30, 1830), by the election of Cardinal Capellari, who was styled Gregory XVI. In despite of this the Revolution broke out on February 5 at Bologna. In the Legations, Umbria, and the Marches, the temporal rule of the pope was declared to be extinguished. Modena and Parma gave in their adhesion; and on March 4 the constituent assembly, which had been convened, established the Constitution of the "United Provinces of Italy."



Although with a sad heart, the new pope could not forbear in this peril to summon Austria to his aid, and Metternich responded to this call with an energy unwonted at other times in his foreign policy. He caused it to be declared in Paris that he did not accept the principle of non-intervention proclaimed by France, but his arms would be turned to any point where the Revolution should break out. If France should give aid to the Revolution in Italy, Austria, confident of the moral support of Russia and Prussia, would resort to extreme measures. An Austrian army, under Frimont, conducted the Duke Francis and the ex-empress, Maria Louisa, back to their residences. Menotti, betrayed, ended his life on the scaffold; and after the defeat of the revolutionary army the provisional government surrendered on assurance of amnesty.

Blow followed blow, and not a hand was lifted on the part of France. Fear paralyzed the arm of Louis Philippe, not merely the apprehension of war, but, in addition, fear of the young Napoleons, of whom two, sons of Louis of Holland, had hastened to seek their fortunes in the adventure of the Revolution. The elder, Napoleon, succumbed to the measles at Forli, on March 17; the younger, Louis Napoleon, was saved by his mother Hortense, being brought in disguise out of Ancona, then garrisoned by the Austrians. As soon as Périer had grasped the helm of state, he put an end to French coquetting with the Italian revolutionists; and though a French fleet was despatched to Ancona, Austria was practically allowed to have a free hand in the peninsula. Once more the national hopes of the Italians were postponed to an indefinite future.

With the widely diffused spirit of discontent in regard to existing conditions that prevailed in Germany, it could not fail that here also the reflex influence of the Revolution of July should be strongly felt, and in more ways than one. At the first this sentiment found expression in isolated endeavors for the removal of public abuses in several of the small states of North Germany, and in these states also such attempts led to the introduction of constitutional reforms. In the kingdom of Saxony, at Leipsic and Dresden, there were tumultuous scenes, of which the liberal-minded portion of the nobility made use in order to effect the downfall of the detested cabinet minister, von Einsiedel; to place by the side of King Anton, who was enfeebled by age, his nephew, Frederick Augustus, a prince beloved by the people, making him coregent of the realm; and, furthermore,

to combine with the feudal institutions a constitution adapted to the times (September 4, 1831). Hanover obtained the appointment of the duke of Cambridge as viceroy, and likewise a new constitution on September 26, 1833. In Hesse-Darmstadt the seditious proceedings were directed against the customs-houses, officials that were disliked, and landed proprietors. The most violent commotions naturally occurred in the two places where German princelings, by an offensive abuse of their power, had most deeply degraded themselves. In Hesse-Cassel the people rose up against the wretched management of the brutal elector William II. (1821-1847), and his avaricious mistress, Emilie Ortlöpp (Countess Reichenbach). On January 5 the elector subscribed the new and very liberal constitution drawn up by Professor Jordan, of the University of Marburg, and approved by the estates; but on account of his anger at the too evident demonstration of public disapproval of the shameless reappearance of his mistress, he withdrew with her to Hanau, leaving the cares of government to his son, as coregent, a man not unlike himself. In Brunswick the change went so far as even to remove the sovereign. Duke Charles, son of the Duke Frederick William who fell at Quatre-Bras, having ruled in his own name since 1823, behaved toward the nobles, officials, and people like a mad despot, half childish, half malicious. The ordinance for the regulation of the country, issued in 1820 during his minority, was set aside. Before the uprising of the populace the duke made a cowardly flight, September 7, 1830, taking his treasure with him; he died at Geneva, in 1873. The ducal castle was consumed by fire. On the invitation of the provinces, William, the younger brother, assumed the government, was acknowledged as rightful duke as well by his relatives as by the confederate assembly, and established the new ordinance of October 12, 1832. As in Belgium, so here also, the constraint of circumstances was stronger than the principle of legitimacy.

Among the smaller German states, Mecklenburg was the only one remaining that inflexibly adhered to the rigid feudal system. In all others, the influence of the new regulations, conformable to the times and of an increased publicity, was observable in departures from the former want of interest in political life. The slack sail of Liberalism was again filled by the breeze that blew across the Rhine. Participation of the representatives of the people in legislation, administration, and interpretation of law, effectual control of the finances of the state, freedom of speech, and of the press; such were the demands

that had already found admission into the new constitution, or, where this was not attained, were endeavoring to prevail. In Baden, especially, public life had received a fresh development since the accession (March 30, 1830) of Leopold, the first sovereign of the Hochberg line, and under the judicious administration of Winter, the minister. Here such men as Rotteck, Itzstein, Welcker, and Mittermaier entered the chambers, men who were considered throughout Germany as the most eminent leaders of public opinion, and as the chief representatives of liberal ideas. But at the same time the advance undeniably made strengthened superstitious confidence in the infallible healing power for all political infirmities of a constitution formed for a state after the Franco-Belgian pattern. That desire which was expressed so impetuously during the last two decades for a great truly-united fatherland, fell altogether into the background, in presence of the striving after a political freedom which was conceived as something altogether abstract, connected with no conditions of nationality, and whose most complete expression was considered to be the principles of French democracy. To these opinions such liberals felt more closely allied than to all that could be proffered them at home. The disparagement and mockery of home life and surroundings, at the expense of whatever is French, was one of the most conspicuous and characteristic marks of this entire range of thought. In German literature, also, the Revolution of July fully disclosed the new spirit which had already announced itself near the close of the twenties. Out of the sanctuary of classic poetry, out of the self-sufficing circle of Romanticism, this literature stepped forth, full of daring and freshness, into public life. A new race of writers, wholly penetrated by liberal ideas, took possession of the sentiment of the day, and threw itself with heedless impetuosity into the struggle against everything conventional. Gutzkow's "Wally," and Mundt's "Madonna," in an epoch so poor in permanent productions, gave to this stormy impulse an adequate expression. What procured Börne and Heine (Fig. 36) their extraordinary influence on their contemporaries was precisely this restless urgency for liberty, the turning away from the past with its arid following of precedent, the charm and the power of modern ideas brought forward with unsparing pungency. With them begins the influence of the Jews upon our recent literature. Their peculiar lineage, the cosmopolitanism conspicuous in all their writings, their settlement at Paris, and their glorification of French conditions, directed the eyes of

German youth again more and more to that model country of political freedom. The more the youth lost in this manner the consciousness of duty toward the fatherland, the more effaced also became the boundary lines separating them from Radicalism; that is, from the party which, with no concern for the relationships of Germany that had become historical, was aiming directly at a republic, and an-

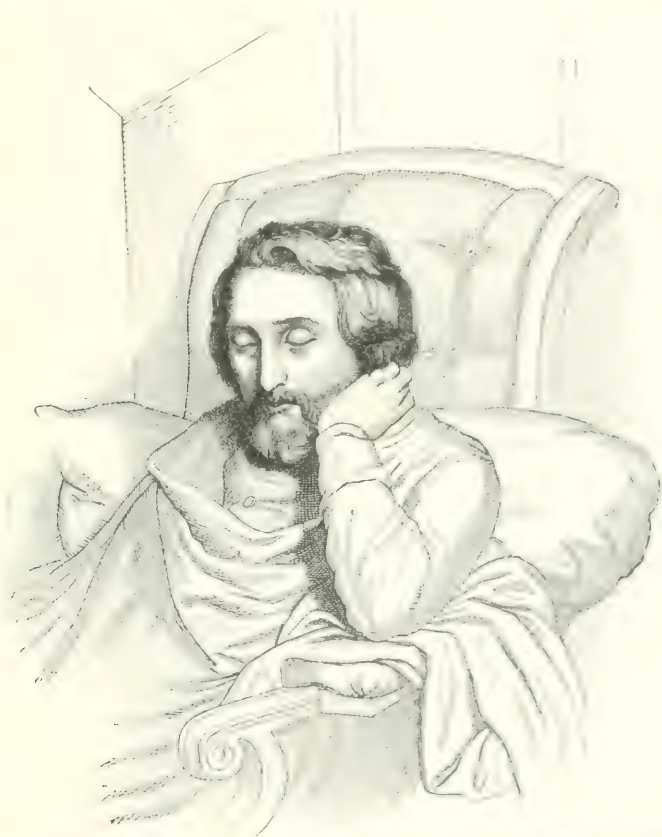


FIG. 36. — Heinrich Heine. Reduced facsimile of the engraving by Weger and Singer; original sketch by C. Gleyre.

nounced as the mission of the future the democratic fraternization of the Germans with the Poles and Frenchmen, and the destruction of all princely thrones. The greater liberty enjoyed by the press for a time after the Revolution of July allowed the journals of this party, which were widely circulated in South Germany, — Wirth's "Tribune," Eisenmann's "People's Paper," Siebenpfeiffer's "Western Messenger," and "The Hanau Times-Winnower," — to preach this



doctrine very plainly. This opportunity, indeed, was not continued long. These journals were suppressed by the Confederation.

But the democrats of South Germany desired to show that they had really learned something from their French teachers. In order to place themselves on the defensive against such regulations, Wirth, Savoye, and Geib, in the Palatinate, founded a union of the press for the purpose of indemnifying persons punished for offences alleged against their journals. The acquittal of Wirth, who, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Confederation, had continued to issue his "*Tribune*," was encouragement for a great demonstration. A festival contemplated by the moderate Liberals of the Palatinate in honor of the Bavarian constitution and its grantor was appointed for May 27, 1832, at the castle of Hambach, near Neustadt, upon the Hardt. This was seized and managed by the Radicals. In order to give the festival importance, in a regular conference of the speakers it was settled what measures — at the first legal, but violent if necessary — should be taken to accomplish the regeneration of Germany.

On this occasion was repeated the experience that nothing so powerfully and surely played into the hands of the Reaction as the folly of the Radicals. A secret decree of the Confederation, passed October 21, 1830, pledged the governments only "in the hope that just complaints would be remedied, to bring assistance to one another in the event of urgent peril, even without the intervention of the Confederation." To Metternich's good fortune, an exchange of ministers took place shortly at Berlin, by which an unqualified admirer of his political sagacity, in the person of the mediocre Ancillon, was placed as second cabinet minister by the side of Bernstorff, whose health was infirm. The advance of the French into Belgium, and the Polish insurrection, came very effectually to the aid of his principal object, the restoration of an understanding between the three eastern powers. After the festival at Hambach, the Confederate Assembly, on the joint proposal of Austria and Prussia, enacted six ordinances, designed to oppose an insuperable barrier to the Revolutionary inundation. By them the sovereigns were engaged to reject every proposal contravening the monarchical principle in their realms, and also to guard against all attacks upon the Confederation: attempts to refuse taxes should be forcibly put down by the Confederate power: the interior legislation of individual states should be placed under that of the Confederation; in the

assembly a commission (for six years) was instituted to supervise provincial relations; and, finally, the interpretation of Confederate acts was reserved to the Confederation exclusively. On July 5 there followed the prohibition of all assemblages of the people and of revolutionary emblems; the regulation of the supervision of persons politically suspicious, the renewal of the decrees of 1819 and 1824 against the universities, and the assurance of the speediest assistance possible to all governments of the Confederation, in cases of need; the circulation of German books printed in foreign countries was made dependent on special permission from the Confederation; an entire series of offensive periodicals was suppressed.

Literally executed, the ordinances of June 28 were equivalent to the destruction of the constitutional system. But they shared the fate of the Karlsbad Decrees. The larger constitutional states did indeed fear the Revolution, but they feared it less than the invasion of their sovereignty by the leading powers; they adhered to these decrees, but with reservations which annulled a great part of their efficiency. The Radicals of southwestern Germany employed against such action the arts of conspiracy which they had learned from Frenchmen and Italians. The dwelling of Pastor Flick at Petterweil offered an unsuspected place for the meetings of the initiated. The uniting bond of this entire system of conspiracy lay, however, outside of Germany. It was formed by the Genoese, Giuseppe Mazzini, a man who by his iron will, his unselfishness, his mysticism and political fanaticism, was in the highest degree adapted to this position. The first fruit of his arduous activity — the seat of which he soon transferred to Switzerland — was the formation of 'Young Italy,' into which the remaining Carbonari entered; but the threads of the conspiracy extended to France, Switzerland, and southwestern Germany; and the purpose was to prepare a simultaneous outbreak of a universal republican insurrection in every one of these countries. The German conspirators, Gärth, G. Bunsen, the brothers Breidenstein, Rauschenplat, and others, selected Frankfurt as the place for this attempt; the Confederate Assembly was to be dispersed, the treasury removed, everything beyond this was to be reserved for the free decision of the German people. Brought over by emissaries, the Burschenschaft formally adopted the Revolution, as the means for attaining the freedom and unity of Germany, into their programme, and completely acceded to the union of the fatherland. In a deceptive manner the chief mem-

bers of the opposition in the provincial chambers were appointed associates, and likewise the pretence was forged that the military of Prussia and Nassau were ready to join; and in the Palatinate, Rhenish Prussia, and Hesse-Darmstadt, everything was prepared for the blow. The only military man initiated was the First Lieutenant Koseritz of Würtemberg.

On April 3, 1833, the outbreak took place in Frankfort. The conspirators, decked with scarfs of black, red, and gold, rushed upon the watch; but of the gaping crowd no one lifted a hand, the call to

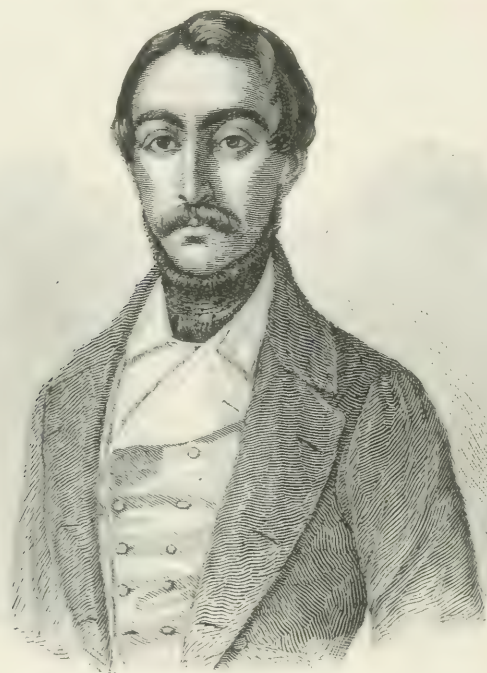


FIG. 37. — Giuseppe Mazzini. From an anonymous steel engraving.

arms was not heeded, and at the first fire of the military, who attacked them, every man took to flight. A squadron of Poles, that had come up from Besançon as concerted, turned about on learning that nothing was accomplished: there was a like failure of the attack planned from the lake of Constance. A second attempt, undertaken in February, 1834, in Savoy, under the leadership of the adventurer Ramorino, failed completely. In consequence of this, 'Young Italy' fell to pieces: but Mazzini (Fig. 37) immediately founded at Bern the order of 'Young Europe,' a brotherly league

of all peoples against their princes: this was done on April 19, 1834.

Undoubtedly the governments possessed the right of necessary self-defence against the criminal follies of crude fanatics. Upon the demand of Austria and the German Confederation, supported by Russia and even by France, Switzerland saw herself compelled to refuse an asylum to the fugitives; though, from the failure of the cantons to comply with the regulations of the diet, Switzerland continued to be the main centre of revolutionary movements. The Confederation forbade German artisans to travel to Switzerland, France, and Belgium; moreover, German students were prohibited from resorting to the Swiss universities. A persecution of the most odious and contemptible character was directed against popular leaders. The Confederate Assembly, on June 20, 1833, instituted at Frankfort a central authority for superintending, collecting, and elaborating the investigations conducted in the several states. In Bavaria, Eisenmann, after four years of severe preliminary imprisonment on a charge of high treason, was condemned to apologize before the statue of the sovereign, and sentenced to the house of correction for an unlimited period. The new minister of the electorate of Hesse-Cassel, Hassenpflug, took until 1839 to collect sufficient material against Jordan to warrant his preliminary incarceration, from which he was not set free till after a lapse of six years, when, on his acquittal, he left prison a broken-down man. Weidig, the energetic pastor of Obergleen, met his death in a dungeon at Darmstadt, whether by his own hand or another's is unknown.

Of any creative thought on the part of the rulers, of wish or will to improve the indefensible conditions existing in the Confederation, there is no trace whatever. Rather was the opportunity eagerly grasped by Metternich to bring to a victorious close the half-won campaign against the constitutional system. He invited the ministers of the German states to conferences at Vienna. Distrust and jealousy prevented a decided resistance from the constitutional states; and it was owing solely to the irreconcilable hatred of King Louis of Bavaria that the most important measures aimed at the existence of the constitutions of the confederated states were defeated. The sovereignty of the princes, it was declared in the decrees adopted, could be restricted by the constitutions of provincial diets only in the exercise of definitive rights: in general, the course of the government must not be disturbed by legislative opposition. It



was not allowable for the provincial diets to advise and determine upon the validity of the decrees of the Confederation; the right of granting taxes was not equivalent to the right of regulating the bud-



FIG. 38. — Karl Gutzkow. Reduced facsimile of the etching by Doris Raab.

get. Against the abuse of the liberty of speech and the publication of the transactions of provincial diets, regulations should be adopted; differences between governments and the provincial estates should

be determined by a Confederate court of arbitration. The censorship, the supervision of the universities, and the passport system were made more rigid.

A part of these decrees remained secret for the time being on account of the 'ill-will' of the western powers. Everywhere was the police rule uppermost, and a loathsome system of espionage flourished. The press was followed up with special suspicion. On December 20, 1835, the Confederate Assembly interdicted the



FIG. 39. — Heinrich Laube. Reduced two-thirds of the etching by Johannes Sonnenleiter.

writings of H. Heine, K. Gutzkow (Fig. 38), H. Laube (Fig. 39), L. Wienbarg, T. Mundt, and G. Kühne, a coterie of very dissimilar poets and prose writers, to whom was affixed the name of 'Young Germany.'

These measures attained their end, the stifling of public spirit, only in a very imperfect manner; but their effect was more complete in another direction. Since the mind of the people found the path of national development barred, it naturally turned into a by-way.

The dislike, nay, the hatred, of the subjects towards their government was regarded as a self-evident circumstance; an honorable co-operation of both to promote the common welfare was an exception becoming more and more rare. A peculiarly large portion of this hatred was discharged upon Prussia. This state went before the others in unmerciful dealings with political offenders, whose guilt mostly sprung from the thoughtlessness of youth. Though none of the thirty-nine sentences of death against members of the *Burschenschaft* were executed, yet there was no shrinking from employing the most revolting perversions of justice in order to secure condemnations: and a cruel, vindictive treatment awaited prisoners. Notwithstanding the still unfulfilled promise of a constitution and the prosecutions of popular leaders, which sowed so much bitterness, no disturbances of the peace were caused in Prussia by the Revolution of July, with the exception of a very few insignificant tumults. To this result, not merely veneration for the aged king contributed, but also consciousness of the benefits which the people owed to the rigidly upright and judicious administration in the hands of an enlightened bureaucracy. Even enemies were obliged to confess that the official body of this state were not only the most cultivated and competent, but also the most independent in Europe. Free from fear of internal revolutions, King Frederick William was ready to welcome proposals made at Berlin by the governments of South Germany with regard to a common system of defence, they having been left without protection by Austria, herself helpless. The king accordingly despatched General von Rühle to those courts to enter into preliminary negotiations regarding a military union under Prussia's leadership, and in Vienna also caused a plan to be presented concerning the equitable appointment and employment of German forces on the occurrence of hostilities. But the further the immediate danger of war withdrew, and the more Austria regained her self-confidence through the rapid successes in Italy, the more did Metternich scatter the seeds of suspicion with regard to the integrity of Prussia so successfully that her plans wholly failed of accomplishment.

The point worthy of notice in these negotiations is this, that not from Prussia herself, but from the other states of Germany, came the first declaration that this state, and it alone, was called to fulfil the national hopes of the German people. Friedrich von Gagern, in 1823, had already announced this conviction in a thoughtful publica-



tion: Dahlmann had given it elevated expression in the "Discourse of a Man that Fears," with which (in the *Hannover Zeitung*) he greeted the year 1832; and immediately afterwards the same thought was treated by a young Stuttgart assessor, Paul Uhlen, in his "Correspondence of Two Germans," so amply, clearly, and impressively that subsequent times have been able to add to it nothing essential. "Nationality," he cried to the Frenchified Liberals, "is the first condition of humanity, as the body is the condition of the existence of the soul." At present, surrounded by powerful kingdoms, Germany consists of fractional states; and this fragmentary existence is wretchedly protracted by constant concession, adjustment, and partisan action in reference to foreign interests. Instead of this condition, he indicates, as the fundamental principles of the future Germany, a strong central power in the hands of Prussia, one German parliament growing out of the individual diets of the provinces, and the exclusion of Austria. "The one thing needed," he added prophetically, "is the popular sentiment which is yet lacking; and I maintain that the princes of Germany will be less hindrance to this union than the German peoples."

It is true that the Prussia which these men had in mind was not yet at hand. But it was coming into existence, and even now making ready, by the extension of the Zollverein (Customs-Union), to sink in the soil the immovable foundation-stone upon which united Germany should be built in the future. This advance was materially furthered by the progress introduced into the states of Middle Germany. The new constitutional government at Cassel declared itself prepared for accession out of regard to the true interests of the land; and although a lessening of Prussian customs-revenues was presupposed as a result of this, yet it appeared to von Maassen, successor of the deceased Motz, that the financial sacrifice was well repaid by the ends thereby attained, — the shattering of the customs-union of Middle Germany, the re-establishment of the connection between the two halves of the kingdom, and the placing of the South in an isolated situation. On August 25, 1831, the emperor announced the accession of the electorate of Hesse to the Zollverein. In Munich and Stuttgart the perception that a similar step was inevitable, and the fear of an abatement of sovereignty, contended with each other for a long time. The negotiations with Prussia advanced as little as those carried on at the same time with Austria; in May, 1832, the former were entirely suspended. King Louis of



Bavaria, who appreciated the indispensableness of Prussia's protection, acquired the merit of bringing forward again such negotiations through von Mieg, his minister of finance. Prussia also made advances. She receded from the claim of supremacy previously made, conceded the division of the revenues according to population, and dropped every prerogative in reference to the management of the concerns of the union; it was even conceded secretly to the two kingdoms of South Germany, in the event of a ten per cent decrease in their receipts from the customs, that they should have the right to give notice of renouncing the treaty before its termination. On these principles was the German Zollverein concluded on January 1, 1834, at first for eight years. Saxony, with whom hitherto no agreement could be reached, could not now remain behind, but entered the Zollverein on March 30. On May 11 the treaty with the Thuringian states was concluded.

With jealous eyes foreign lands watched this economic fortification of Germany. Having been held back by France, Baden did not come in till May 15, 1832. Nassau even pledged herself, in consideration of favor shown for five years with regard to the mineral waters belonging to the duke's domains, not to increase the duty on French wines and silks, but afterwards freed herself from this bondage. Frankfort held out longer than any. England sought to make of this city an emporium of her trade, yet finally it also applied for admission. After the accession of Brunswick in 1841, and of Luxemburg in 1842, the Zollverein embraced a contiguous territory of 180,000 square miles and 25,000,000 inhabitants. Hanover, after placing all imaginable difficulties in the way by complaints and proposals to the Confederate Assembly, and by intrigues at Vienna, concluded with Oldenburg and Bückeburg, and at first Brunswick also, a separate impost union. Feudal Mecklenburg continued wholly apart.

If the Zollverein, through the concessions made by Prussia, had been weakened in a manner to prejudice its aim, yet even in its mutilated form there remained national blessings flowing from it of signal importance. At the end of the first ten years the value of imports and exports had already risen from 249,500,000 to 385,000,000 thalers. None of the members had any thought of using his right to give notice of withdrawal. Germany's trade and industry again came into competition with those of her western neighbors, so far behind which they had remained for two centuries. But not less

important were the political results which followed from this measure; with the material protectorate acquired over Germany, Prussia had laid the basis for a similar political position. In the same degree in which Prussia made indubitable advances in Germany by means of the Zollverein, Austria necessarily assumed that the equality of rights among the members of the Confederation had now ceased, since of seventeen votes in the Confederate Assembly only seven were still entirely independent of Prussia. The Zollverein cut the ground from under the feet of the Confederation; not in that, but elsewhere, the German people saw lay the centre to which their nearest interests gravitated. For the first time they now accustomed themselves to direct their view beyond the narrow bounds of the separate state to the totality of Germany; and the sentiment of national interdependence shot up into a palpable, tangible interest. The Zollverein was the first step toward the regeneration of Germany.

This was yet lying in the undiscoverable future. The convulsive movements of 1830 had too quickly subsided into a torpor of the political consciousness to allow the national significance of the past to be fully appreciated in its wider extent of influence. That there was violent excitement anew, and that this started up in a manner hostile to governments, was not the fault of agitation by popular leaders, but was caused by a violation of honor and of right that cried to heaven, perpetrated by one of the most important princes of the Confederation. The death of King William IV. of England, on June 20, 1837, whose successor in England was his niece Victoria, dissolved the personal union of Hanover with the English crown, in consequence of the hereditary law prevailing in Germany; and the Duke Ernest Augustus of Cumberland was called to the throne of Hanover. The first act of the new king was to declare the invalidity of the fundamental law of the state made in 1833, because it was enacted without the consent of himself, the successor to the throne; and he released all the 'royal servants' from their oaths to the constitution. The real motive was, that the duke, who was deeply in debt, and with whose past the most questionable recollections were connected, needed unrestricted control over the state domains in order to free himself from the hands of usurers. In a certain von Scheele, who was placed at the head of the new ministry, he found a willing instrument for accomplishing this contemptible *coup d'état*, and particularly for the abolition of the

treasury board, which formed an important part of the constitution of 1819. Sorrow and dismay seized upon the country, but public spirit and life were so dead that no voice and no hand were raised in defence of right scorned and violated; and the officials, from the highest to the lowest, complied in mute submissiveness. Only among the professors of the University of Göttingen there were found seven—F. C. Dahlmann (Fig. 40), E. Albrecht, J. and



FIG. 40.—Dahlmann. From the sketch by F. Pecht, 1838.

W. Grimm, G. Gervinus (Fig. 41), G. Ewald, and W. Weber (Fig. 42)—men standing in the first rank of German science, who had the courage to make the declaration that they, “in order not to appear before the studious youth as men that wantonly trifle with their oaths,” regarded themselves as bound permanently by their oath to the constitution.

The names of the “Göttingen Seven” have since that day con-

tinued to be attended with the reverence of the German people; but profoundly disgraceful is the fact that their manly summons to honor and duty found no imitation. Arbitrary power enjoyed its shameless revenge upon them. The seven were deprived of their offices; Dahlmann, Jakob Grimm, and Gervinus — since through them their protest had been made public — were expelled from the



FIG. 41.— Gervinus. From the lithograph by H. Eichen; original painting by K. W. F. Oesterley.

country, and compelled to take passports to Cassel. Notwithstanding express prohibition, several hundred students awaited the exiled professors at Witzenhausen, a place on the frontier, deeply regretting their departure. Hereupon the king summoned an assembly of the estates, pursuant to the form established in 1819. When the estates, meeting in February, 1838, declared the partial suppression of the constitution of 1833 to be invalid, and rejected the proposed scheme



of a new constitution, it was prorogued. A part of the delegates, however, prepared a representation to the Confederate diet, to which the cities of Osnabrück and Münster had already gone with a complaint. Furthermore, a joint opinion by the law faculties of Heidelberg, Jena, and Tübingen, on the question whether the government was justifiable in levying taxes, denied the right. Legally the matter could not be in the least doubtful. But considerations of another kind turned the scale at Frankfurt. For Metternich saw before him



FIG. 42. — Wilhelm Eduard Weber. From the lithograph of Rudolf Hoffmann, 1856; made from a photograph.

the choice between allowing the free play of the prince's arbitrary will or the coming of a liberal government to the helm; and he decided unhesitatingly for the former. The louder public opinion expressed itself in favor of violated right, and the more energetically it sided with the victims of despotism and their families, the more uneasy were the governments. To the citizens of Elbing, on account of an address of approval delivered to their townsman Albrecht, the Prussian minister von Rochow communicated a reproof that has

become famous, — that it is not seemly for the subject to apply the measuring-rod of his limited perception to the nation of the supreme head of the state, and to assume in conceited arrogance to pass a public condemnation upon the unbounded power of the same." The Confederation took refuge, according to custom, behind a formal reason, the formal irregularity of the application, and decided against the complainants. Thereby the king won his game. The privy council, who were in his way, were replaced by a state council; for the provincial diet the requisite number for the transaction of business were gathered together by a series of illegal acts; and to the energetic protest which several cities of Hanover addressed to the Confederate diet against the enactments of the provincial diet as thus constituted, the declaration was haughtily opposed, that the constitution which had been set aside had undermined the integrity of the sovereign power, and was not in unison with the fundamental principles of the German Confederation. Then occurred a thing unprecedented. Despite the six votes of Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, the Thuringian States, and the Free Cities, the Confederate diet adhered to the motion of Austria: "considering that in the kingdom of Hanover there is in practice a constitution corresponding to the requirements of the Confederation and of the Vienna decrees, we find no warrant in Confederate laws for interposing to maintain the state's fundamental law of 1833." The king in his triumph now cast away the last remainder of respect and reserve. Against opponents measures were multiplied: in the estates, under the application of every available means, a majority of precisely one vote was obtained for the new constitution (of August 6, 1840); and the domain was converted into royal property in such a manner that the right of legislation on the part of the provincial diet was reduced to the mere giving of an opinion, while the publicity of the sittings and the responsibility of ministers were done away.

What was the result of this transaction? This shameless act practised by the throne recoiled upon the entire body of German princes and upon the highest officers of the Confederation, who had assisted it in treading under foot a right as clear as the light of the sun. The simple confidence in the right-mindedness of the governments was shaken to its foundation; and their enemies could with full right maintain that truth and faith were not to be found in them, and that the Confederation was a national disgrace. The real

gain from the violation of the Hanoverian constitution fell to the Liberal opposition.

England remained exempt from the effects of the Revolution of July as little as the Continental states. The great formative process into which she entered at the close of the war now assumed an accelerated pace, and its resistlessness was increased. The war that had been fought out for Catholic emancipation encouraged the Whigs to enter with increased vigor the struggle for parliamentary reform. The new sovereign, William IV., the Sailor King (1830-1837), was personally popular. The proposal for parliamentary reform, introduced anew by Lord John Russell, was again defeated in the Lower House; but at the very next session Lord Brougham gave notice of a new bill. Two circumstances combined to support the efforts of the friends of reform,—on the one hand, the rapid increase of wealth in the middle classes, and of the proletariat in the lower classes, both the result of the altered methods of production; on the other hand, the split in the Tory party, which had risen in consequence of Catholic emancipation, the ultras among them regarding Wellington and Peel as deserters, and pouring out upon the latter a furious hatred, although they both now declared themselves decided adversaries of reform. The stagnation of business spread amid the hungry laboring masses a wild exasperation against the government. The duke of Wellington, from fear of being insulted by the populace, did not venture to attend the lord mayor's banquet given as usual after the coronation. Since the moderate Tories declared in favor of reform, the ministry anticipated certain defeat by retiring on November 16.

For the first time since the accession of George III. the Whigs now returned to power. Of the cabinet, in which Lord Grey was premier, the followers of Canning, viz., Melbourne, Goderich, Palmerston, and Grant, were also members. Maintenance of peace, economy, parliamentary reform,—such was the programme of the new government, to which it was allotted to open one of the most memorable epochs in the recent history of England. Amid breathless suspense in the House of Commons, Lord John Russell (Fig. 43), on March 1, 1831, introduced the Reform Bill of the ministry. Sixty-two boroughs of less than 2000 inhabitants were to lose entirely the right of having any representative; forty-seven boroughs of 2000-4000 inhabitants were to be deprived of one of their two

representatives: on the other hand, the number of representatives from the great cities and the counties was correspondingly increased; the business of conducting the elections was simplified. Although on this plan the change in the electoral principle did not even come in question, and only the removal of specially crying abuses was aimed at, yet the Tories rose as one man against a reform which in their conception was equivalent to the destruction of the old English structure of the state. After a violent debate the bill was rejected by a majority of eight votes. The king, although in heart an opponent of reform, was persuaded by his ministers to take an appeal to the country. The electoral contest, animated as it was, passed off in perfect order. Notwithstanding all efforts of the opposition, the ministry were victorious; and on September 21 the Lower House, by a vote of 345 to 236, adopted the bill which had been again presented. But with inflexible pride it was rejected by the Lords. The agitation reached a dangerous point. For the lower classes parliamentary reform was a dimly understood means from which



FIG. 43. — Lord John Russell. From a photograph

was anticipated an improvement in their suffering condition. At Birmingham an assembly numbering 100,000 made a solemn pledge of unalterable devotion to the cause of their country. After the reassembling of parliament, the Lower House for the third time passed the reform-bill, and for the third time it failed in consequence of the resistance of the Upper House. To break this deadlock the ministry desired to create new peers; and when the king hesitated to consent, they resigned their portfolios. Wellington, who was summoned by the king, soon recognized the impossibility of forming a new cabinet; and then no other issue remained but the recall of the former. In order to avoid the creation of peers, the Upper House now discontinued its opposition, and the law was suc-



cessfully adopted (June 4, 1832). Shortly afterwards parliamentary reform was extended also to Scotland and Ireland. By it 56 boroughs with 111 seats in parliament entirely lost representation; 32 others were deprived each of one or two of their members, and in their places 42 cities obtained one or two representatives, and 65 others, as a counterpoise to the democracy of the cities, were given to the counties. The electoral franchise was extended; and in order to avoid mischievous excesses, which had become the rule during elections, the time for voting was reduced to two days.

Even in this form the principles of representation hitherto established were left unchanged by the reform. Now, as formerly, the right of representation reposed upon a special grant, and not upon an electoral franchise uniformly bestowed, as in the French system. The evil results of reform predicted by the Tories did not occur. They were, however, right if they saw in the reform the passing away of old England; for from this dated an inner transformation which subsequently has continually moved onward. It compelled the noble lords of the soil to share their political supremacy with the middle classes in the cities, which had become powerful through riches and education. Upon the relaxation or abandonment of old principles, there followed the destruction of the old parties. The more moderate Tories followed the example of their leader, Sir Robert Peel, who without himself becoming a Whig, yet accorded his support to the Whigs in regard to reforms which he also recognized as necessary. Hence in England the designations of Conservative and Liberal grew up by the side of the names Tory and Whig, which were no longer precisely applicable.

With this fundamental reform were connected others, in their scope likewise weighty and beneficent. The privilege of the Bank of England on its expiration was extended for twenty-one years, by the Bank Act of 1833, from a wise regard to the claims of the growing economic development. The antiquated monopoly of the China trade was stricken from the charter of the East India Company, which had likewise expired; the distinctions based on color and religion in the territory of the company, and the restrictions upon European colonization, were also removed; the company itself was transformed into a corporation, under government control, for the administration of British India. With January 1, 1834, there went into operation a law, suggested by Lord Ashley, for the protection of children employed in factories; for the consequences of the heedless

working of manufacturing laborers in the industrial districts were becoming alarmingly manifest in the physical deterioration of the people. Still greater fame was attained by the Grey ministry by the suppression of negro slavery in the British colonies. In this transaction the indefatigable labors of the noble philanthropist William Wilberforce and of the Quakers encountered the material interests of the English commercial body, until gradually the whole nation was filled with horror at an incongruity that dishonored all Christendom; and the other powers also devised measures for its abolishment. The Anti-Slavery Society, established in 1823, inscribed on its programme, not merely the suppression of the slave-trade, but of slavery itself. Nevertheless, since it was not simply a question of humanity, but concerned even the existence of the non-British colonies that produced sugar and coffee, as also the right of search on the ocean, neither at Vienna nor at Aix-la-Chapelle and Verona did the congress show a disposition to meddle with the question. Urged on by the public opinion of their country, the English government came to a decision to go forward independently. Three resolutions introduced by Canning, aiming at a judicious and gradual improvement of the condition of the blacks, were unanimously adopted by parliament. In order to abridge the evils resulting from the transition stage, the government next, in the year 1831, gave freedom without indemnification to all slaves of the crown; then the emancipation bill of August 28, 1833, bestowed immediate freedom on all slave-children under six years of age; all other slaves, 750,000 in number, were to have their freedom (August 1, 1834), but this was to be gained by their working out a seven years' apprenticeship, which, however, on August 1, 1838, gave place to full emancipation. For the compensation of slave-owners £20,000,000 were granted. It is true, the immediate consequence — since the freed negroes at once fell back into the rude state of nature — was the total ruin of the British West Indian plantations; while in the non-British islands the production of sugar by slave-labor, and therewith slavery itself, were greatly increased. But the impulse imparted was able to compel the other states in time to follow England's example.

It was impossible for this humane tendency not to have regard to the circumstances of Ireland, which so nearly approached slavery. The Emancipation Bill of 1829 had indeed conceded to Irish Catholics a political right, but the wretchedness of the social condition existing upon the island was left without the least alleviation.

Emboldened by the example of Belgium, O'Connell had hurled the call for 'Repeal' — for the dissolution of the Union of 1801 — into the mass of his ignorant, politically unreflecting fellow-countrymen, and thus had introduced an agitation far exceeding the former in wild and fanatical feeling, which made itself known by barbarous acts of violence, murder, and robbery, burning of houses and slaying of cattle, and engendered a terrorism such that no jury ventured to give a verdict of guilty against the convicted offender. The Irish Coercion Act of 1833, which authorized the government to suspend the writ of habeas corpus, to restrict the right of assembly, and to supersede juries by courts-martial, sufficed, it is true, to re-establish public safety; but the special sources of the evil remained. Among the very worst of these belonged the severe bondage in which the Anglican High Church held the Irish Catholics. Although only 850,000 Protestants dwelt upon the island, yet it numbered four archbishops, eighteen bishops, and twenty-two chapters, who without making the least return, without even remaining in their dioceses, drew a total income of £800,000, to which the Catholic Irish contributed not less than £650,000. Against these church tithes there arose, in 1831, a universal passive resistance. All refused to pay, whether from inability, ill will, or fear. But with equal obstinacy the Tory and High Church party opposed the dissolution of the unnatural relationship. If subsequently the Irish Church Bill proffered the Catholics some alleviations, diminishing the number of archbishoprics and bishoprics in Ireland, lessening the revenues of their incumbents, and applying the sums thus saved to church and school objects, yet it neither removed the unjust principle that the Irish Catholics must aid in supporting the church of a small minority, of another faith, nor quelled the zeal of O'Connell (Fig. 44).

The question of effecting the expropriation of the established Church of Ireland caused division even within the cabinet itself. Wearied with the enmity aroused on the part of all those who felt themselves injured or prejudiced by great reforms, Lord Grey retired on July 9, 1834, without having brought to a close the Irish tithes question. Just as little did his successor, Lord Melbourne, appear able to succeed with it. The king, who was strongly opposed to the Tithe Bill, shortly dismissed Melbourne's cabinet, and intrusted the formation of another to Wellington, who, however, recognizing his inability, advised that Peel be called. But although the new premier avowed himself, to the universal surprise, favorable to the most



FIG. 44. — Daniel O'Connell. Hallowed Remains of the Magnificent O'Connell.



important reforms in church and state, yet the Liberals determined to prove to the king that the crown's prerogative to make choice of ministers was not absolutely unlimited. On April 8 Peel gave up the useless contest, and the return of the Melbourne ministry sealed the subjection of the crown to the Lower House. The fact came to light at the same time that the Orange lodges, of which the duke of Cumberland was the grand master, had become a formidable weapon of the High Tories against the government; consequently the ministry compelled them to dissolve. It was not, however, till 1838 that the Upper House consented to accept the bill, and then only with the sacrifice of the so-called 'Appropriation clause,' by which a part of the revenue of the Irish church was to be managed by the temporal power for school purposes and similar objects. Even in this imperfect form the bill removed a gross injustice and a great evil.

Other monopolies of the church were put down by the recognition on the part of the state of the University of London, which the Liberals established from their private means in 1835, and later (1836) by a law providing for the commutation of tithes. The corruption and nepotism in the management of city affairs were restricted by the law regulating corporations, introduced by Lord John Russell, although it was mutilated in the Upper House. But the most beneficent reform by which the Melbourne administration was distinguished, was the legislation concerning the poor, the absurdity of which in the past, instead of preventing poverty, constantly increased its extent, encouraged the poor to immorality and crime, and through the exorbitance of the poor-rates brought whole communities to poverty. To this wretched condition the law of 1834 put an end; for it delivered the oversight and control of the subsistence of the poor to a central board, clothed with extensive and ample powers, drew a broad line of distinction between those unable to work and those averse to work; and besides other judicious regulations, instead of sending the poor to a public purse continually open, pointed them to the duty of self-help. Though the opposition encountered by the law at first was vehement, yet its effects were beneficent beyond all expectation. In the same year it occurred that parliament made a grant of £20,000 for popular education, which was increased by one-half in 1839. Further measures for the elevation of the public school system, brought forward by Lord Brougham, rendered impossible that ecclesiastical intolerance which rejected absolutely the state's control of the schools.

Notwithstanding its brevity, the reign of William IV. was thus distinguished by a greater number of beneficent reforms than any which preceded it. Material progress did not lag behind political improvement. At the commencement of his reign England possessed some timid beginnings in the construction of railways. The number of steamboats in all the British possessions amounted to 315, of 33,441 tons. At the close all the great cities of England were connected by railways; and there were reckoned up 600 steamboats, of 67,969 tons. The situation of laborers had improved to a remarkable extent, while commerce and industry were to such a degree the sources of property, the trading-classes to such an extent had become main elements in the corporate power of the state through their knowledge and energy, that more than ever politics was constrained to pay regard to them. The lessening in the cost of newspaper stamps secured to the people a means of instruction never before possessed.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE MONARCHY OF JULY IN ITS STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE.

WHEN Périer became the head of the government, he did not in the least disguise from himself the difficulty of rendering the new monarchy permanent. To attain this object he was unwearied in his appeals to the sound sense of the people. But in the general confusion of the forces which go to maintain a state, he sought support preferably in the chambers. Courageous, and confident of the impression made by his language, and even by his presence at the tribune, he took pleasure in the parliamentary struggle, and succeeded in inspiring the dispirited majority with something of his own energy, in restoring the ranks to order, and bringing them back to the consciousness of their obligations. Thus he was able to confront the opposition, who had some exculpation for every illegality perpetrated by the sovereign people. In this conflict he found in Guizot his most capable and trusty ally. If there were friends of the dynasty who gladly emphasized its origin as based on election, he sought, if possible, to efface such origin, and to hold fast the thread of historical connection. To the universal surprise, notwithstanding the prominent part he had taken in the events of July, Thiers also adhered to the policy of resistance, rejected the theory of popular sovereignty, substituting for it majority sovereignty, and retained little of his early revolutionary rhetoric.

But even a Périer could not impart to the Conservatives a genuine and complete monarchical feeling. Never was the monarchy of July freed from the Nemesis, that the real royalists, the faithful adherents of the deposed ruling house, wished to have nothing to do with this succession, and that, on the other hand, its most faithful adherents were not real royalists at all. The former made war on the government and the person of the king with a virulence not surpassed by that of the extreme Left. On the other hand, the monarchy saw itself attacked in its vital nerve by that mania to bring down every high thing which the Revolution had unchained. The vanity of the common people, who fancied themselves to be at

least the king's equals, took pleasure in continually reminding this monarchy of its origin; and upon the throne there was lacking that powerfully imposing personality which would have known how to extort, if need were, that respect which is indispensable to the crown. As for the adherents of this monarchy, none of the affronts heaped upon it by its enemies served to impel them to gather the more firmly around the throne, because their hearts were not there. That they adhered to it was neither from inclination nor principle, but from interest. The monarch served them 'as a lightning-conductor for their shops;' and from such narrow-souled interest to indifference was but a step. It often seemed that these adherents of the new kingdom desired to repay themselves for their support by rendering its existence as hard as possible. This disposition was plainly manifested in settling the civil list. The civil list of Louis XVIII. had amounted to 34,000,000 francs; that of Charles X. to 32,000,000 francs; but a citizen king naturally must have more moderate needs. The slander which stamped him as a greedy miser strengthened the impulse to keep him short of funds. Louis Philippe had eaten the bread of penury long enough to appreciate the value of money. From anxiety with regard to the future of his children, he was, in pecuniary matters, addicted to a painstaking which better became a good father of a family than the supreme head of the nation. That, contrary to the ancient custom of the French kings, who always blended their private property with the state domain, he should the day before his accession have made over his entire possessions, amounting to 100,000,000 francs, to his children, reserving only the usufruct, greatly wounded the sensibilities of the people. When one day the childless old duke of Condé was found hanged, a small number allowed themselves to speak out, saying that his was not a case of suicide, but evidently the act of another hand, that of one determined to prevent the duke of Bordeaux from being substituted for the third son of Louis Philippe as heir to Condé's immense wealth. Périer was entirely deceived when he thought to disarm the opposition by leaving it with the chambers to appoint the amount of the civil list; and the majority haggled with regard to it as if the question was, to be on their guard against a treacherous robber. When, pending this matter, the expression, 'subjects,' escaped Count Montalivet, a fearful tumult arose, and 107 deputies protested against it in an imperious tone. Finally the eighteen millions proposed were beaten down to twelve.



How quickly fled was the popularity enjoyed by Louis Philippe at the beginning of his reign! That he should venture to direct a part of the garden of the Tuileries to be set off for his family excited the loudest indignation. In everything that could injure or degrade his person the daily press participated with special delight; it never tired reminding the monarchy that it was the work of the people, and for that reason depended upon the people; that, born at the barricades, it might also die there; that it owed gratitude to its authors, and they owed no reverence to the monarchy. The chambers had voted national rewards for the combatants of July; but against the inscription, 'given by the king of the French,' proposed to be placed on the decoration that was ordered, noisy protests at once were made. The heroes of the barricades are the bestowers, not receivers, of distinctions; and it was necessary to abandon the contemplated festivity of the decoration. Yet more disorderly in their effects than the press were the caricatures of which the king was the standing subject; for these were executed not in a spirit of merry jesting, but were steeped in venom and gall. Such exhibitions had been unknown under the Restoration. "What was destroyed in 1830 was not a government, but respect for all government." So great was the confusion of minds that even P rier regarded it as inevitable to conform in some measure to the passions and prejudices of the people. At a time when the population certainly had no occasion to be admonished to glorify the Revolution, July 14 was appointed to be observed as the anniversary, pensions were granted to the 'conquerors of the Bastille,' and the national mourning on January 21 was abolished. Even as regards the House of Peers the minister yielded, sacrificing its hereditary feature, of the necessity of which he was persuaded, to the outcry of the democracy and of the bourgeois, who in this matter sided with the democrats. Only the appointment by the king was saved; but this mutilated chamber of peers possessed neither independence nor consideration; instead of being a support to the throne, it only partook of its insignificance.

But, clearly as P rier had comprehended the necessity of defending the monarchy, he himself acted against it, inasmuch as he strengthened the authority of the ministers at the expense of the kingly dignity. For as Louis Philippe found intolerable the ascendancy which his minister purposely made him feel, there began that war between the king and his ministers, continued long afterwards, which could benefit no one but the enemies of his dynasty.

The greatest merit which Périer, in conjunction with the king, had acquired in regard to France, — the shielding of the country from a foreign war, — was at home only an obstacle to the strengthening of the dynasty. While established in retaliation for 1815, it did not possess the power to enter upon such a work. Its salutary, but also necessitated, policy of peace brought upon it from a factious opposition the deeply wounding reproach of cowardice. While the leaders of the opposition, Lamarque, Manguin, Carrel, and Lafayette, who bore no responsibility for the consequences, filled with ever-ardent recollections of the Convention and the Empire, or "from sympathy for the suffering nationalities," stirred up warlike passions, Périer was convinced that war meant, abroad, a coalition against France, and at home the Revolution. Unmoved by the cries of the Left, he positively refused to acknowledge the revolutionary government in Poland, and hurled at his accusers the answer: "No, the government is not at fault for the misfortunes of the Poles; those are responsible who gave them bad advice!" When upon intelligence of the fall of Warsaw a multitude of the populace threatened to lay hands upon him, entirely alone he quelled their rage by his fearlessness. But yet he, too, felt the need of giving some satisfaction to national vanity. This was the reason for the expedition against Lisbon. When Dom Miguel haughtily refused the satisfaction demanded for the ill treatment of a French subject, Périer ordered, without regard to England's jealousy, the entrance of the Tagus to be forced by Admiral Roussin, and the Portuguese fleet to be brought to Brest as a security. The real foreign policy of Louis Philippe, however, was guided mainly by an anxious desire to be received fully into the fellowship of the legitimate princes of Europe.

And thus it came about that at no time could a condition of assured order be restored at home. The spirit of rebellion continued to act; tumult in the streets existed permanently; the *émeutier* was a standing figure in the population of Paris, and with full right he might now appeal to the fact that he was only pursuing the course that, in the 'great week of July,' yielded him praise and honor. In all these manipulations was discernible the hand of the political unions, which had shot up luxuriantly, and although dissolved by law, quietly persisted in their work. For did the government venture to bring violators of the law before the courts, it knew certainly that the jury, to whom the charter had assigned offences connected with politics and the press, would declare the accused in-

nocent in spite of evidence to the contrary, whereupon the parties accused would go thence in triumph to receive the homage of the street. The criminal's bench became a tribunal from which those occupying it threw into the face of the government challenges and insults, boasted of their republican principles, and summoned the people to rise. It came to this, that just prosecutions increased disorder instead of suppressing it. Under the Restoration the secret societies had been recruited from the middle class almost exclusively. The lower populace—the *peuple*—were not counted in politics. Even the extreme Left did not concern itself with them. Great, consequently, was the surprise when the campaign against the Polignac ministry ended with the triumph at the barricades of the hitherto disregarded lower class. But after these victors had played a part so highly celebrated, and had practised popular sovereignty with their muskets, how could it be expected that they would willingly and at once fall back into their former nothingness? While, then, the leaders of the old parliamentary opposition, who had now attained to power, flattered themselves that they were ruling as formerly according to the mind of the exclusively authorized middle class, the revolutionary agitation now sought to bring into the secret societies the lower people,—the laboring class,—and therefore spoke to them of their rights, of their liberation and their welfare, and thus endeavored to create out of them a standing army of sedition. On this basis there grew up gradually a real republican party, which had not previously existed. This party knew very well that it was only a feeble minority, and it did not purpose, by gradually changing public opinion, to become the majority; but it desired without delay, by violence and by surprise, to gain possession of supreme power, and pursue a policy Jacobinical at home and warlike abroad. In the press their organ was "The Tribune," with Armand Marrast, a disappointed place-hunter, as editor. Carrel, also, passed over to the cause of the republic from wounded vanity, because his reward had not been as great as that of Thiers. Of such a description were the principles of these republicans.

Périer did not shrink from undertaking open warfare against these elements of permanent revolution. He brought forward a new law of sedition, drew the army, the municipal guards, and the gendarmes out of that condition of disgrace into which they fell in 1830, placed the prefecture of police in trustworthy hands, and

whenever plotters collected he dispersed them by military force or by means of fire-engines. Far more serious, however, were the scenes of which Lyons was the theatre, in November, 1831. The situation of the laboring population in that city, sad in ordinary times, had become, since the suspension of the silk manufacture in July, 1830, deplorably wretched. After a futile attempt by the prefect to interpose, by establishing an agreement as to wages, a bloody collision ensued, a large part of the National Guard went over to the insurgents, the weak garrison was compelled to evacuate the city, and for ten days it was in the hands of the laborers, whose black banner bore the legend: "To live by labor or die fighting." Périer, first of all, succeeded in restoring legal authority unconditionally, which was effected by Marshal Soult and the duke of Orleans without difficulty, the laborers offering no resistance. The need of the hour was met; but the serious note of warning, pointing out the danger which was developing in the bosom of civil society, was not comprehended.

According to external appearances, Périer had won the game. The threatening clouds of war had vanished. At home he had secured for himself a majority; and the economical condition was improving. But still he did not allow himself to be deceived; he did not imagine that he could reach the actual root of the evil, that moral disorder which had laid hold upon the minds of men. In the unsuccessful struggle against this his strength was exhausted. When the cholera suddenly made its entrance into Paris in the midst of the carnival, he succumbed to it, on May 16, 1832.

Périer's place remained vacant. Much as the king was indebted to that minister, he yet felt himself in a degree relieved by his absence. Very laborious and active, free from disturbing passions, rich in experience of life and in knowledge, Louis Philippe trusted much more to his own ability to rule France in circumstances of great difficulty than to any minister whatever. He evidently found satisfaction in keeping ministers in check, in playing off one against another, in neutralizing or correcting their action over their heads, and even in assisting in the removal of any minister who had become inconvenient by too strongly intrenching himself in his post. Thus there existed naturally between him and his counsellors a quiet jealousy, which injured the unity and consequently the strength of his government, in a manner the ruinous effects of which were to be manifested in their entirety only at a later day. But not contented



with possessing such an influence, he desired also that it should be seen that the country should recognize the service rendered to it by the king; and by that course he wounded the self-love of the bourgeois class, according to whose catechism as now received the king must not venture to govern. Louis Philippe now himself assumed the presidency in the council of ministers, pleased at being able thus to prove to the country that Périer was no more indispensable than another. But the Revolutionary party took fresh courage from the death of the man whom they feared. The funeral of General Lamarque, who likewise had died of the cholera, was selected, June 5, 1832, for a revolutionary counter demonstration, in opposition to the obsequies of Périer. The funeral solemnities were transformed into a street-fight, very obstinately contested, that lasted two days. Paris was declared in a state of siege. This aroused a storm of indignation from the Left, and had to be revoked, for the Court of Cassation pronounced courts-martial unconstitutional.

At the same time the royalists in La Vendée took up arms. The duchess of Berry became inflamed by the romantic thought that a woman must reconquer the crown which had been lost by men, and a mother lead back her son to the throne of his fathers. Notwithstanding all warnings of judicious Legitimists, and not suspecting that Périer's spies were watching every one of her steps, she left Italy, and on April 28 landed on the coast of France. But the rising on which she had counted did not occur; amid many hardships and various adventures she did indeed reach La Vendée, but the band of peasants that joined her were speedily overpowered.

These important indications convinced the king that he would not succeed without a prime minister. After a long negotiation, protracted for four months, the necessity of united action in the presence of such dangers combined, in the 'Ministry of all the Talents,' formed on October 11, 1832, under the presidency of Marshal Soult, the two leaders of the Doctrinaires, the duke of Broglie as minister of Foreign Affairs and Guizot of Instruction, with Thiers for the Interior. The first mission of the latter was to put an end to the adventure of the duchess of Berry by her arrest; for although he held in his hands proofs of the criminality of the Legitimists, he preferred to imprison a woman rather than bring men to the scaffold. After a long search he succeeded by the help of a traitor in discovering her in her hiding-place. She was imprisoned in the citadel of Blaye, but her condition obliged her to confess that

in Italy she had secretly married a Count Lucchesi-Palli. On May 9, 1833, she gave birth to a daughter; and having now become harmless for all time, she was set at liberty. This tragicomic result was not merely a loss of honor for herself, but for royalty in general.

Originating with the liberal *Doctrinaire* majority, the ministry of October 11 possessed strength; but for this very reason this displeased the king. He went so far astray as to pour out his sorrow as to this matter in the presence of foreign envoys. This he did while the government had need of the firmest concord within itself in order to overcome the sinister forces which had not been annihilated by the defeat of June 5. A shot at the king when he was on his way (November 19) to open the chambers, was followed by the lamentable series of attempts against his person, which although universally failing of their object, yet constituted one of the bad symptoms of the condition of French society, corroded by passion. While the country was prosperous externally, and enjoyed internal peace as it had not for three years, the disbanded society of the Friends of the People again started up in secret as a Society of the Rights of Man, and neglected no means of reviving revolutionary passions, and particularly of recruiting its ranks from working-men. As yet socialism did not possess the regular form which theories gave to it at a later day; but still class-hatred was constantly gaining ground, and Godefroy Cavaignac, the president of this society, had the boldness to announce, in a public manifesto, the main demands of socialism, — the State's supreme control of economic affairs; organization of labor, securing the existence of laborers at the expense of those living in affluence; restriction of the right to property; etc. If the government made any appeal to the law as a means of defence, the courts refused, and sacrificed it to the insolence and scorn of its adversaries. Weary of this want of power on its part, the government caused three laws to be enacted by the chambers to secure more effectual resistance, — against seditions, against the unions, and against the secret manufacture and the concealment of arms and ammunition. Immediately the menaced Society of the Rights of Man issued orders to strike. At Lyons, where ample preparations had been made in advance, the rising broke out on April 9, 1834; to subdue it a furious battle in the streets was necessary, that lasted five days. This was no struggle like that in 1831 with regard to wages; it was a special section

of the contemplated general insurrection, on which the republican party purposed to expend its entire strength; it was at the same time an act in the great drama of the revolution, which, under the direction of Mazzini as chief manager, had been played also in the rash attempt at Frankfort and in the Savoy expedition. In Paris also a riot occurred, but was put down by General Bugeaud after a short conflict.

The discomfiture of the republican party was complete; even the death of Lafayette, on May 20, was passed by almost unnoticed; at the next supplementary election not a single republican was rechosen. The cabinet, however, in the midst of these victories began to be visited by perplexities at home, and difficulties in parliament, and these threw it into confusion. The first trouble occurred when the chambers, by a small majority, refused to vote the 25,000,000 francs demanded by the United States for indemnification on account of American ships seized during the Continental embargo; their claim was cut down to this sum, and then denied by a small majority. Upon this Broglie left the ministry, to the great satisfaction of the king, and three of his colleagues followed. Shortly afterwards Guizot and Thiers came to an understanding to relieve themselves from Marshal Soult, who was unacceptable to them. There was then developed a ministerial crisis that continued for nearly ten months, and was finally ended on March 12, 1835, after the most diverse combinations had been attempted to no purpose, by the appointment of Broglie, to the king's great disgust, to be president of the cabinet of October 11, which again resumed office. This long uncertainty was the more injurious in its effects because the ministry even now was encountering increased difficulties in the chambers, not on the part of the vanquished Left, but through the desertion of the Right, who prospered in proportion as fear of the Revolution abated. The so-called 'Third Party,' under Dupin, president of the chamber, separated from the Right. Thus was dissolved the great alliance of the Moderates. The new party made its debut by adhering to the agitation of the Opposition in favor of granting an amnesty to the prisoners of April, not out of sympathy with these peculiar martyrs, but in order to render themselves popular, and to raise up obstacles for the ministry. The trial, embracing 2000 accused, was a most important one, even after the court of peers had reduced the number to 164. More audaciously than ever before, was there exhibited on this occasion con-

tempt for all authority. The sedition seemed to be transferred from the street to the court of justice; the accused behaved as if the accusers of their judges, they scoffed at them, insulted them, and announced the approaching victory of the republic. The public openly sided with the accused, and encouraged their insolence. After nine months the trial terminated with sentences relatively very mild, — deportation, or deprivation of liberty for a longer or shorter period. The hate of the republicans was now directed against the person of the king. While he was holding a review of the National Guard on July 28, the anniversary of the Revolution, an infernal machine was discharged, which in a moment stretched on the ground forty-one wounded and eighteen dead. Among the latter was Marshal Mortier. As by a miracle the king and his sons remained unhurt. The perpetrator was a Corsican named Fieschi, an utterly reprobate character; the sole contriver was the veteran Morey, and by devilish calculation the machine was so loaded that it should free him at the same time from the king and from his fellow assassins. The money had been furnished by one Pepin, a grocer. The three ended their lives on the scaffold. For five years the press of the extreme Left had been preaching assassination of the king; was it a wonder that it found disciples? Carrel took the trouble to explain that political murder might well be a crime, but no disgrace. It was necessary for the police to prohibit pilgrimages to the graves of the men who had been executed.

The reaction from the abominable deed was expressed immediately by the desire for stronger measures of protection against the malignant impulse, and the government without delay proposed that for this purpose the chambers enact the so-called 'September Laws'; the first relating to juries, the second to the giving of a verdict against acts of rebellion, the third designed to suppress the legitimist and republican press, and re-establish a censorship for the theatre and for caricatures. The opponents of these laws were joined by the aged Royer-Collard, not from love of the parties at whom they were aimed, but because he with entire justice considered merely repressive measures to be ineffectual. "The evil is great, is immeasurable," he said, "but is it the growth of yesterday? For fifty years a great school of immorality has been standing open, whose doctrines have resounded throughout the whole world more powerfully than all the journals. Such are the events which, almost without intermission, have been accomplished before our eyes. Look at October 5, August



10, January 21, May 31, the 18th of Fructidor, the 18th of Brumaire; what do we see in these series of revolutions? The victory of violence over the existing order, which this also is, and for the support of the same doctrines which they sanction. Reverence is extinct; and nothing afflicts me more deeply, for I esteem nothing more highly than reverence; and what has been respected for fifty years? The remedy for which you seek is in the hearts of men, and only in their hearts." The urgent need of this remedy was shown by a fresh attempt upon the king's life, made on June 25, 1836, by a certain Alibaud, which was followed later by the timely discovery of a new infernal machine, and by various other attempts; it was shown also by the new Society of the Seasons, formed from the fragments of the Society of the Rights of Man, and by the imprisonment and conviction of its founders, Blanqui and Barbès, two experienced conspirators.

In the struggle against these sinister forces at home the ministry lost a great part of its strength; what yet remained was wasted by means of the foreign policy pursued. The immediate cause of its dissolution came from occurrences in the Spanish peninsula.

On the earnest suggestion of his fourth consort, Maria Christina of Naples, Ferdinand VII., by the Pragmatic Sanction of March 29, 1830, had set aside the decree of Philip V. (1713) concerning the succession to the throne, and restored the hereditary right of daughters, as it had previously existed. When on November 10 the queen was delivered of a daughter, the king's brother, Don Carlos, hitherto the nearest heir to the throne, refused to recognize this change in the right of succession. Around him rallied the Apostolicals; the queen was supported by the Liberals; the last days of Ferdinand's life were filled with the game of intrigues played by both parties. At his death, September 29, 1833, Maria Christina assumed the regency for the little Isabella II., summoned the poet and author, Martinez de la Rosa, to the head of the government, and by the royal proclamation (*Estatuto Real*) of April 10, 1834, publicly professed adherence to the constitutional system. But in nearly every province opposition arose. The confusion was increased by the proximity of the civil war that was rending Portugal. Dom Pedro, after having renounced on September 7, 1831, the imperial crown of Brazil in favor of his son of the same name, had appeared in Portugal, in order, with the tacit approval of England and France, to regain for his daughter, Maria da Gloria, the throne wrested from

her by her uncle, Dom Miguel, and polluted by the most horrible tyranny. Dom Miguel was joined by the Infant Don Carlos, who was in the same situation. In each of these countries, Palmerston, the disciple of Canning, desired to secure the permanence of the liberal government. On April 15, 1834, he subscribed with both countries a treaty for the expulsion of the two pretenders from Portugal. France also became a member of the alliance. The cabinets of St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Berlin felt the blow deeply. By the recall of their ambassadors from Madrid they gave immediate emphasis to their failure to recognize Isabella. They could not, however, in this manner delay the decision in Portugal. A Spanish army corps compelled Dom Miguel to desist from his pretensions to the throne (May 26) and to leave the country. Don Carlos gave himself up to the English admiral.

The peril of the Madrid government was, however, still far from being ended. To the hostility of the Apostolicals on one side, and of the irreconcilable Radicals, the worshippers of the Constitution of 1812, on the other, were now added an unprecedented financial disorder, and the fact that the moral consideration of the monarchy was undermined by the scandalous relations of the regent with the lifeguardsman Muñoz, who at a later day, as duke of Rianzares, became her husband. To complete the misfortune, the mountaineers of the Basque provinces, being threatened with the loss of their ancient peculiar rights (*fueros*), took up arms against the Liberal government. In Zumalacarregrui and young Cabrera they found leaders uncommonly gifted, unmatched by the generals of the Christians,—as the adherents of the regent were called. The sudden appearance of Don Carlos in the midst of the insurgents gave new importance to the rising; the entire country as far as the Ebro fell into the hands of the Carlists, and had it not been for the invincible narrowness of the prince, the throne of young Isabella would have been in great danger. The war assumed the character of the fiercest blood revenge. For a time no quarter was given. Despairing of his own ability, Martinez, on May 17, 1835, asked from his allies the ‘co-operation’ provided for in the quadruple treaty.

But this was an embarrassing question. On no consideration could Palmerston assent to a fresh intervention on the part of France beyond the Pyrenees. In Paris, on the other hand, Thiers (Fig. 45) was the most zealous advocate of the attempt. He was tired of home politics: he longed to win glory abroad, and to

write bulletins announcing victories. But the king objected, not merely that he desired victory for the Carlists, but furthermore because he wished to avoid everything which would ruin the desired approximation to the eastern powers. Finally, however, he

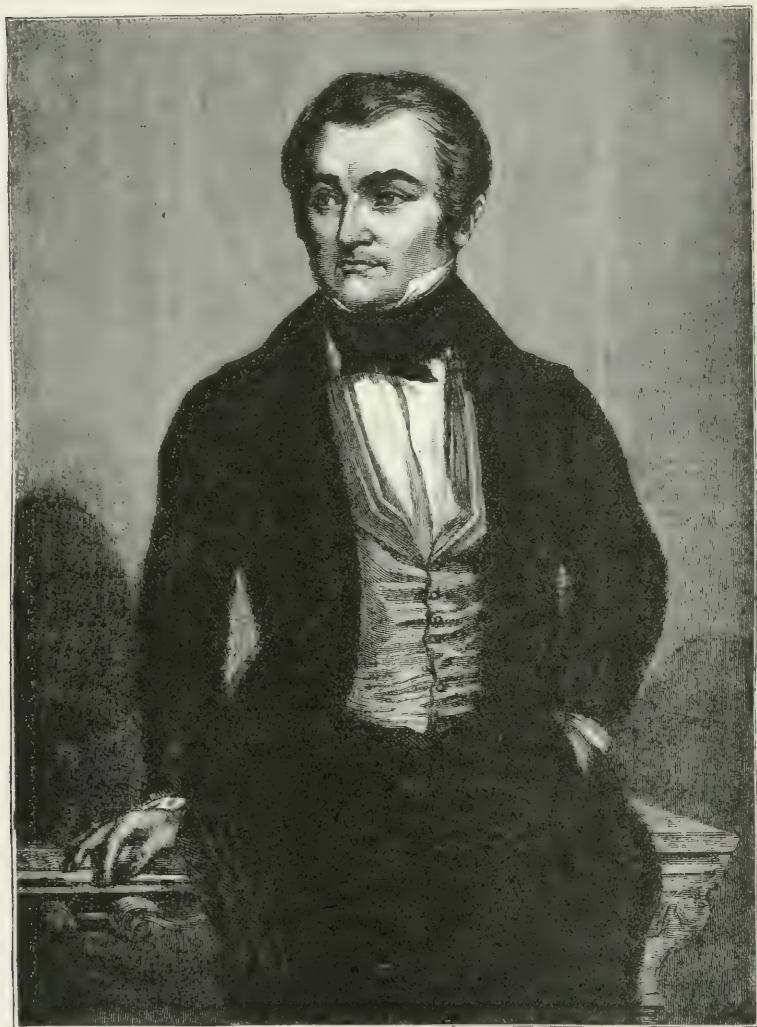


FIG. 45. — Louis Adolphe Thiers. Reduced facsimile of the engraving by Henry Robinson (1796-1871) ; original painting by d'Auvergne.

withdrew his opposition, hoping to find in this matter the opportunity to break up the obnoxious ministerial triumvirate. A conflict with the chamber of deputies in regard to the conversion of

the debt anticipated his wishes: the ministry presented their resignations.

The king called Thiers (now thirty-eight years old) to be the head of the new cabinet, for he expected greater pliancy from him than from Guizot or Broglie. Broglie warned the king that, should he raise Thiers to the first place, he would be obliged always to retain him there, for a descent would undoubtedly throw him back into the revolutionary party; but this counsel was unheeded. The immediate result of Thiers's elevation was the confusion and division of the Conservative majority, while he professed to remain Conservative, but really sought to draw over the Left to himself, and to maintain a position between the two by an artistic oscillation. Guizot, on the contrary, was now the head of the pure Conservatives. Broglie, wearied with these intrigues, withdrew.

Every one judged that the young premier, in order to justify an elevation so unusual, must necessarily accomplish something extraordinary, something brilliant; and no one was more deeply penetrated by this conviction than the premier himself. The highest aim of his ambition was the reconciliation of the monarchy of July with the Continental powers. He desired, without breaking with England, to render the friendship of that power unnecessary; for the inexorable manner in which Palmerston at once put down all schemes of French aggrandizement was becoming increasingly offensive at the Tuileries. Thiers hoped to obtain for the king's eldest son, the duke of Orleans, a wife from the Austrian imperial family, and thus see the dynasty of July fully and completely received into the fellowship of the ruling houses. The reception which the duke and his younger brother Nemours found in Vienna at first promised the best result. Finally, however, the influence of the Archduchess Sophia brought about a refusal.

Thiers had found his conservative and pacific game a failure. To make good his loss he threw himself, with his usual reckless changeableness, into the opposite direction. He found the situation in Spain ready made to his hand. Between the revolution, which had made itself master of nearly all the great cities, and the bands of Carlists, which, notwithstanding Zumalacarrregui's death in 1835, were constantly gaining ground, the government appeared to be lost. It called for the armed aid of France. Thiers urged intervention on the king; and he believed himself already to have attained the object, when a revolution by the soldiers and populace at La Granja,



which extorted (October 13, 1836) from the regent a promise of the constitution of 1812, again ruined everything. The indignant king recalled his consent, and Thiers consequently retired. Louis Philippe rejoiced, after six years of dependence, to have now shaken off the last one of the 'Triumvirs.' In his place he called Count Molé, who was personally agreeable to him. It was inevitable to accept Guizot also; and the latter was again satisfied with the ministry of instruction, on the condition that his friends Duchâtel, Gasparin, and Persil, should also enter the cabinet.

That the energies of the Revolution were not yet reduced to quietude, was shown by the discovery of a fresh plot against the king's life contrived by a certain Meunier. To all these enemies a new foe was now added, — Bonapartism. This also had been aroused and greatly encouraged by the Revolution of July. Well knowing that his peaceful policy did not secure the needed satisfaction to the French people, with their vanity and love of fame, Louis Philippe had sought to lead them off to the recollections of the empire. Thus there began that worship of Napoleon which again erected upon the Column Vendôme the statue of the emperor, adorned triumphal arches with the forms and names of the heroes of his wars, and celebrated his victories by naming streets and squares after them. The opposition, always lying in wait for anything whereby they could injure the government, took possession of this ebullition; the Republican party became thoroughly Bonapartist. Shortly before his death, Lafayette, the old, embittered enemy of Napoleon, had a secret interview with Louis Napoleon, in which he invited him, as being, since the duke of Reichstadt's death in 1832, the heir of the Napoleonic pretensions, to come to France speedily, because the government could not maintain itself long. Encouraged by such promises, the prince, an adventurer and fatalist like his uncle, brooded long in his asylum at Arenenberg over the ways and means of fulfilling the destiny indicated by fate. On the morning of October 30, 1836, he suddenly appeared at Strasburg, in the barracks of the fourth regiment of artillery, whose colonel, Vaudry, had an understanding with him. At first all went favorably; but when several officers, faithful to their oaths, hastened up, the prince and seven of his attendants were made prisoners. The adventure appeared more ridiculous than dangerous. The question what to do with the prisoners occasioned perplexity for a time, especially since the precisely similar enterprise of the duchess of Berry

was still freshly remembered. To escape from this embarrassment the king gladly granted the pardon of her son to Hortense, who had hastened to him, and allowed him to embark for America. The project of Louis Napoleon was foiled; he had, however, presented himself before the country as the heir of the great emperor. A new occasion was afforded through the acquittal of his fellow-criminals by a Strasburg jury, and the rejoicing with which the opposition greeted the verdict. According to the explanation which they made, it was established that a colonel might violate his oath and excite his soldiers to sedition with impunity. The helpless government sought for a weapon against such occurrences by proposing to the chambers three new penal laws: the first directed against concealing a conspiracy against the person of the king; the second brought forward deportation as the penalty; the third, the so-called law of discrimination, ordered, in a case where soldiers and civilians participated in the same offence against the state, that the former should be tried by court-martial, and the latter by a jury. But when the last clause was rejected by a majority of two votes, the government abandoned the other two. Not merely the ministry, but the king personally, received a far severer blow by the refusal of the appanage for his two eldest sons, and of the dower, still unpaid, of the queen of the Belgians. A second time France witnessed the spectacle, fatal for every monarchical idea, of her king being represented with more or less explicitness, but always with the same virulence, as a covetous miser, who was always intent only on drawing their last sou from the purses of his poor subjects; and even among the Conservatives no voice ventured to speak out openly and honorably in defence of the calumniated sovereign.

Anger at this failure decided the king to rid himself entirely of the Doctrinaires, Guizot and his adherents, and to form now (April 15, 1837) a Molé-Montalivet ministry, that should be unreservedly obedient to his personal leadership. This cabinet was satisfied with a provision for Orleans and the queen of the Belgians, and showed its spirit of conciliation by granting an amnesty. Molé counted especially upon the favorable impression to be made by the marriage of the duke of Orleans. The aged king of Prussia had been pleased with the prince on his visit to Berlin; he pondered the political advantage promised by the firm establishment of the monarchy of July, and, notwithstanding the opposition which he encountered in his own house, and on the part of the Czar Nicholas, he

procured for the duke the hand of his niece, Helena of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. The king honored the marriage festivities of his heir by opening the splendid palace into which he had caused the crumbling castle of Versailles to be transformed by the hands of the first artists of France, at an expense of 23,500,000 francs, entirely borne by the civil list. It was the first occasion on which the monarchy of July exhibited itself not in the style of a citizen but with regal splendor. Above it the political horizon was growing clear. The birth of the first grandchild, April 24, 1838, gave promise to the king of the permanence of his dynasty. Abroad, also, it was bearing itself more proudly. Captain Dupetit-Thouars compelled the negro republic of Haiti to grant a demand for indemnity that had been long refused; Chile and the Argentine Republic were brought to respect the rights of Frenchmen settled in those countries; the insolence of Mexico was beaten down by the bombardment of the Fort San Juan d'Ulloa, in which the king's third son, the Prince de Joinville, participated. Finally the sun of victory shone upon the French arms, after many alternations, on the northern coast of Africa.

At the time of the downfall of Charles X. the French supremacy extended only over the city of Algiers and its immediate vicinity. No definite plan existed regarding what further should be attempted, and the new dynasty at first had something more needful to do than to think of foreign conquests. The war with the fanatical natives dragged on aimlessly for several years, being sustained on the Mohammedan side especially by the young emir of Mascara, Abd-el-Kader, an inspiring leader, crafty and daring, an adversary of the French from whom they gained nothing by victory, and who lost nothing by defeat. Weary of this fruitless warfare, Desmichel, the commandant of Oran, hit upon the expedient of making a friend of the enemy; but in diplomacy, also, Abd-el-Kader showed his superiority. In the treaty concluded on February 26, 1834, he drew from the French general conditions that went far beyond the intentions of the government at Paris, and which allowed him quietly to establish and extend his sway more and more, and to create an efficient army. It was not long, however, before this seeming friendship was exchanged for open war. General Trézel was forced by the emir to retreat, and suffered a sensible check on June 28, 1835, in the narrow pass at the river Makta. Then France resounded with the cry for vengeance. General Bugeaud (Fig. 46) totally defeated the emir, July 6, 1836, on the Sickack; but the advantage thus gained







First Attack on Constantinople, night of November 25, 1836.

From the steel engraving by Chavane; original painting by Siméon Fort. (Versailles, Historical Gallery.)

was lost again tenfold by the rash expedition against Constantine, the Cirta of Jugurtha, which ended with the severest blow that the French had ever suffered upon the soil of Africa (PLATE XII.).



FIG. 46.—General Bugeaud in the Battle of the Sticks. From the engraving by Samuel Cholet. Original painting by Horace Vernet (1788-1860), in the Historical Gallery at Versailles.

The treaty of May 30, 1837, on the Tafna, adjudged to Abd-el-Kader the entire interior of Oran and Titteri, together with a part of Algiers. The restoration of the honor of French arms by inflicting chastise-

ment on the bey of Constantine fell to the new governor-general, Damrémont. He was slain; but his successor, General Vallée, on October 13, captured by storm the rocky fortress after a desperate resistance.

So many fortunate results, combined with the improvement of material conditions everywhere discernible, and the general prosperity of the people, might well awaken the hope in the minds of Louis Philippe and his ministers, that now the time had arrived for constituting a government independent of the majority in the chambers. But scarcely was this attempt perceptible when all parties at once joined hands to defeat the measure. The foreign policy of the government was the field preferably chosen by the opposition for their assaults. The inadequate satisfaction of the claims of Belgium in the final settlement with Holland, the enforced removal, aided by the eastern powers, of Prince Louis Napoleon from Switzerland, whither he had returned to the death-bed of his mother, and the evacuation of Ancona, — such were the points on which the Doctrinaires and the Left assailed the government. The great oratorical battle, for which an appropriate opportunity was offered in the debate on the address, was fought (January 7-19, 1839) with an exasperated feeling never before exhibited. The Molé ministry indeed came off victorious, but with so small a majority that it offered to resign. But the king did not yield so easily. He decided to appeal to the country. There ensued a conflict of unexampled vehemence. But although the government left untried no means of influencing the result, the decisive victory, amid the campaign cries of "Down with the personal government," was with the opposition forces. On March 8 the ministry withdrew.

The field was now open to the heads of the opposition to form a strong government, instead of which their triumph marked the beginning of the longest and most disastrous ministerial crisis which the monarchy of July had encountered. For, impossible as was an agreement between the several groups, as little would one yield to another the spoils of victory; and the condition of being without a government would presumably have continued still longer if the Gorgon's head of the Revolution, which again threatened, had not put a sudden end to the petty wrangling. This appeared to the Society of the Seasons the propitious moment which they had been long awaiting. On May 12 the insurrection broke out. It was quickly suppressed, but it effected in two hours that which had not



been accomplished in two months. A minority was gathered together in all haste under the presidency of Marshal Soult, composed of men of the second and third rank, a cabinet so truly after the king's heart that it had no will of its own, and was content with the servile part of executing the will of the king. But this coalition also went down in speedy defeat; and now no choice remained to the king but to summon Thiers, the principal leader in this contest of the chamber with the crown; and he became minister, March 1, 1840.

At home and abroad this protracted contest respecting the possession of the government inflicted deep wounds on France, exposing the vanity, jealousy, and selfishness of her statesmen, and causing foreign powers to disregard her as a state on which no dependence could be placed. The voice of France lost its weight in the council of the powers.

Such was the issue of the ten years' struggle for existence which the monarchy of July had been obliged to make at home. And while its relations to the other powers seemed to have improved, yet the first serious complication in which the government became involved showed that its peculiar composition did not allow it to defend its own dignity and that of the kingdom.

Twice already in the course of the nineteenth century, at the time of the Congress of Erfurt, and during the Greek War of Liberation, had the question regarding the fate of the decaying empire of Turkey affected the entire political situation of Europe; and the same interdependence of events was about to recur repeatedly in the following decades.

The more it was proved that with the multiplication of points of contact between the Ottoman Empire and Western culture every attempt at the acceptance of the latter furthered the decomposition of the ancient Turkish system without being able to rejuvenate it and to give it fresh strength, the more closely approached the danger that Russia would fully and completely enter upon the possession of the inheritance on the Bosphorus, to which she considered herself alone entitled, and thus obtain a crushing preponderance over all other powers. But at this time it was not Russia which threatened to tear down the crescent from the church of St. Sophia: but the most powerful vassal of the Sublime Porte, Mehemet Ali of Egypt, rose up against Sultan Mahmud II. and his intriguing favorite,



Khosrew, to take into his own stronger hands the regeneration of the Ottoman Empire. Profoundly resentful because southern Syria, the promised reward for his aid against the Greeks, had been kept back, he took advantage, in 1832, of a dispute with the Pasha Abdallah of Acre to direct his son Ibrahim to seize the district by force of arms. When Ibrahim, instead of obeying the command to evacuate the country, demanded also the pashalics of Acre and Damascus, the Sultan pronounced upon father and son deposition and excommunication. With feigned submissiveness Mehemet Ali renewed his demands, while Ibrahim, after taking Acre by storm, continued his advance northward, which the Turkish army, under Hussein Pasha, sought in vain to arrest. On July 30 he gained possession of the narrow pass of Beilan, leading across the Amanus range. On August 11 he was at Adana, and thence crossed the Taurus Mountains, being everywhere received with open arms by the population as liberator, and as the orthodox defender of Islam against the Sultan, who was considered a heretic since the destruction of the Janizaries. On December 21, at Konieh, the last army at the Sultan's disposal was routed after a severe engagement, and its commander, the grand vizier, Reshid Pasha, made prisoner. The proud Egyptian boasted that he would soon make his horses drink of the waters of Scutari. After such successes the thoughts of Mehemet Ali took even a higher flight. The question was, What position in reference to this would be taken by the European powers?

They were controlled by the same factious and jealous spirit they had shown in the Greek War of Liberation. Russia seized the opportunity of proffering herself to the Porte as a friendly helper in need. Armed aid from that quarter seemed dangerous to the Divan, but terror finally induced it to ask that the Russian fleet be sent for. French diplomacy, however, had already intermeddled in the game. Desirous of producing a dazzling effect, and anxious to requite the czar for his studiously contemptuous attitude towards Louis Philippe, the French agent, Varennes, urged it upon the Porte to recall its request for assistance, while he pledged himself to obtain a favorable arrangement with the Egyptian. Language yet more imperious was employed in the way of mediation by the French ambassador, Admiral Roussin. On his arrival he declared that he was authorized unconditionally to bring Mehemet Ali (Fig. 47) to submission in consideration of his being invested with the government of southern Syria only, and demanded in a menacing tone the

rejection of the Russian fleet. But to his profound chagrin the arrogant Frenchman saw his conditions disdainfully rejected by Mehemet Ali, while he was destitute of the slightest means of enforcing them. Thus nothing was left for the shamefully deceived Sultan but to throw himself a second time into the arms of Russia. But in order not to be overpowered before the arrival of aid, he



FIG. 47. — Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt. Engraved from a portrait painting by Blanchard. Original painting by G. Delavoy (1799-1869), in the Musée National de la Guerre, Gallery at Versailles.

yielded to Ibrahim all his demands, and gave to Mehemet Ali the investiture of all Syria, and Cilicia as well. After peace was concluded on these terms, at Kutahia, it was not till July 9 that the Russians, notwithstanding all urgency on the part of the western powers, began to prepare for their withdrawal from the environs of Constantinople. On the day before they broke up Count Orloff,

their commander-in-chief, signed the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi with the Porte for eight years, in pursuance of which Russia promised to assist the Porte upon its call, by land and water, in consequence of the pledge to permit the passage of no foreign ships of war through the Dardanelles. In the year 1834 the treaty was supplemented by the provision, that Russia, in consideration of the remission of her claims for expenses, should secure a kind of protectorate over Moldavia and Wallachia.

For a long time the diplomacy of Russia had not obtained a success so brilliant. If an additional step toward Constantinople was thus taken, the Emperor Nicholas (Fig. 48) saw also that the Holy Alliance, which was strained by the Greek rising, and not sufficiently cemented again by the Revolution of July, was drawn together firmly anew. The two emperors and their prime ministers met together (September 9-19, 1833) at the castle of Waldstein, at Münchengrätz. The first matter discussed there concerned the Turkish inheritance, which the Emperor Nicholas declared himself impatient to enter upon. In a convention of September 18 the two powers pledged themselves to support the continuance of the Ottoman Empire under the present dynasty, consequently to prevent also the extending of the authority of the pasha of Egypt over European Turkey; but in the event of that dynasty being subverted, then to act only in pursuance of a joint agreement. In a second stipulation, they guaranteed to each other the possession of their Polish provinces, and engaged to adopt preventive measures against the abuse of the neutrality of Cracow, which had become the special seat of the machinations of the Poles; in a third stipulation, in opposition to the principle of non-intervention as devised by the French government, the joint and common right to intervene was expressly affirmed. Subsequently Prussia agreed to accede, yet only on conditions. King Frederick William insisted that everything should be avoided that looked like a menace against France.

Palmerston, who surmised the existence of an agreement with respect to the partition of Turkey behind the Münchengrätz conference, considered this a reason for again drawing nearer to France than hitherto. Louis Philippe, on his part, was too clearly convinced that, in a foreign war, his crown would be the stake, not to do everything to assuage excited passions: and thus the war clouds were dispersed before Europe realized how near this danger had approached. Even the Emperor Nicholas was more inclined to peaceful thoughts

after he had made (November, 1835) the personal acquaintance of the new sovereign of Austria in an interview at Teplitz. Ferdinand, successor of the Emperor Francis, who died on March 1, 1835, was

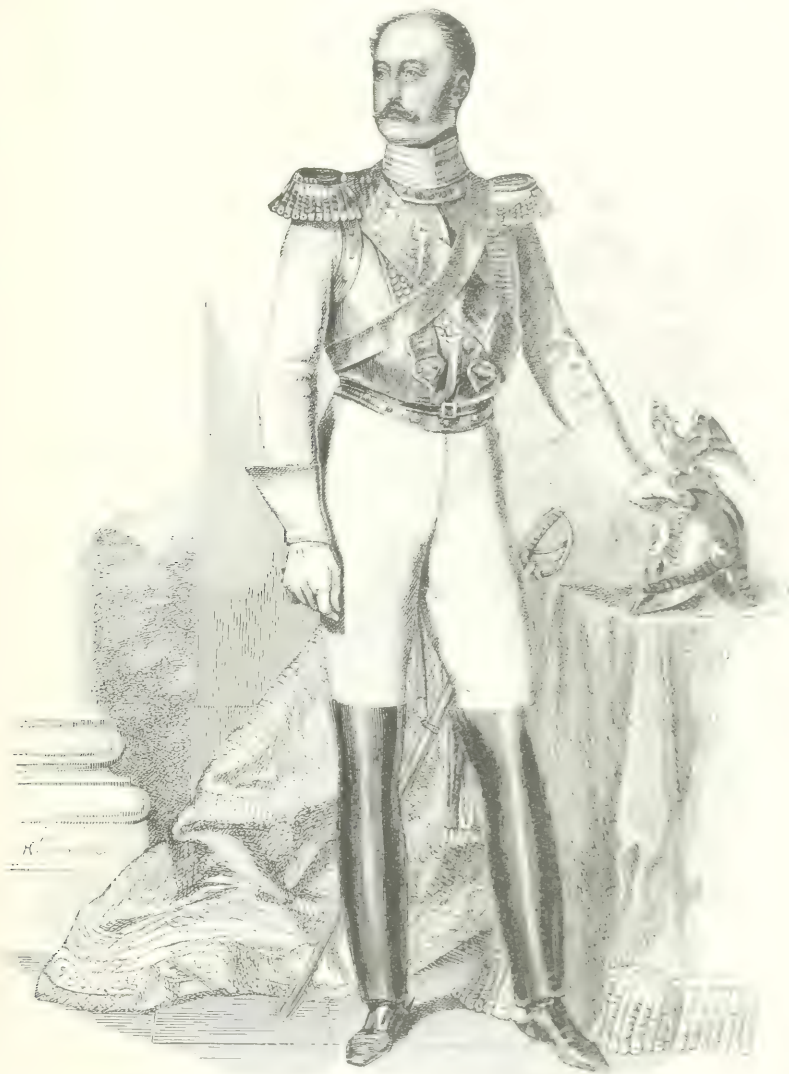


FIG. 48. — Nicholas I. of Russia. Reduced facsimile of the engraving by H. Pauquet.

an idiot, harmless, but utterly incapable of ruling; and in so precarious a condition of the empire it was a course not to be thought of to hurry the state along into a warlike policy. At Teplitz the council



confined itself to the determination to put an end to the republic of Cracow, because it was the irreclaimable seat of Polish agitations, and to effect this by joining it to Austria; but the execution of this decision was postponed to a more favorable time, from regard to the western powers.

Before that day arrived the 'Eastern question' gathered the clouds of war anew and more threateningly than before. That they did not sooner burst, was owing entirely to the watchful jealousy of the Great Powers, as well as to their fear that a universal conflagration might thus be enkindled, and from it the Revolution ensue. For in the breast of Sultan Mahmud the humiliation rankled that had been inflicted by the peace of Kutahia. He pushed forward reforms with the utmost energy, especially the disciplining of his army by means of the five officers whom the king of Prussia had sent to him, perceiving in such measures the best preparation for revenge upon his vassal. Russia, fearing to offend the western powers, remained quiet. France was favorably inclined towards Egypt, the present prosperity of which was largely due to the pasha's French officials. England, on the contrary, had no desire to see a strong power friendly to France permanently block up her direct route to India. Moreover, the monopoly of manufactures and commerce, assumed by Mehemet Ali, had shut out English goods from an important market. These considerations disposed Palmerston to deal a double blow at Mehemet Ali. On August 16, 1838, the English envoy, Bulwer, signed the treaty of Balta Liman, which, in addition to several other benefits to commerce, established the abolition of all monopolies throughout the Turkish Empire; and scarcely had Mehemet Ali extended his sway to the western coasts of Arabia when England (January, 1839) took possession of the desolate rock of Aden, there to create the Gibraltar of the Red Sea. The Porte shrewdly calculated to gain an advantage by this treaty in any event: should Turkey's vassal submit to it, he would undergo a severe financial loss; should he reject the treaty, he would make England his enemy.

Upon the advice of France, Mehemet Ali decided in favor of the former course. But the alienation between the two adversaries had reached such a point that a catastrophe was unavoidable. Notwithstanding the decay of his bodily and intellectual powers, Sultan Mahmud thirsted passionately for the chastisement of the rebel who had torn Syria from him. He reckoned upon the aid of the insurgent

Kurds, Druses, and other Syrian tribes who had been scarcely put down by Ibrahim. On June 9 Mehemet Ali and his son, as before rebels, were solemnly declared outlaws. Infected by the blind self-confidence of his lord, the Seraskier Haliz Pasha, at the head of the Turkish army, crossed the Taurus Mountains. Without regarding the impressive warnings of his military advisers, Colonel von Moltke and the other Prussian officers, he attacked Ibrahim at Nizib, on June 24, 1839, and was put to rout. A few days later, on June 30, Sultan Mahmud died, and his son, Abdul-Medjid, seventeen years old, succeeded to the throne. Achmed Fewzi, the capudan pasha, from fear of Khosrew, now all-powerful, and with the privity of the French admiral, Lalande, took the Turkish fleet to Alexandria in order to proffer the regency to Mehemet Ali.

The helpless Divan appeared to be compelled either to yield to all the terms imposed by the conqueror, or to throw itself into the arms of the Russian protector. It was this situation which caused excitement and action in European diplomacy. Louis Philippe, who, under the name of Marshal Soult, managed personally the foreign policy of the government, thought that he could profit by this hour of universal confusion to draw to himself the decision of the question at issue, and to gather about him the other powers for the purpose of offering resistance to the dreaded intervention of Russia, and in this way take revenge for all the mortifications and humiliations endured from the Emperor Nicholas. Adjutants flew to Ibrahim and to Alexandria; by the assurance that he would represent the claims of Mehemet Ali, he obtained from him orders to Ibrahim not to overstep the frontiers of Syria. But Metternich, now as formerly intent upon nothing so much as the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, had secured the adoption of a joint measure by the five powers, — viz., a demand upon the Porte to defer its decision until after receiving an agreement made on their part. France also acceded, although not without plans in reserve. Thus, being pledged to both sides, she had brought herself into an ambiguous and untenable position. The Emperor Nicholas perceived at once the error committed, which was the greater since Palmerston was not the man to allow himself for the sake of pleasing France to be pressed into a position hostile to Russia. In order to separate England entirely from France, the emperor sent to London the offer to give up the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, which indeed was soon to expire, in favor of a general European agreement, and in the



FIG. 49. — Abdul-Medjid, Sultan of Turkey (1839-1861). From the engraving by G. Levy. Original painting (a present from the Sultan to the King of France) in the Historical Gallery of Versailles.



Egyptian question, adhered altogether to the English view, in pursuance of which Mehemet Ali, in consideration of his immediate evacuation of Syria, was to obtain the hereditary possession and rule of Egypt. Palmerston willingly assented to this proposal; in order, however, to avoid dissension with France, and to facilitate her accession to the proposal, he declared that he was ready to assign to the pasha for life even Acre also, and the maritime region of Tiberias. But just now the change of ministry had occurred in Paris, and Thiers had become premier, formerly the head of the opposition, which had so vehemently espoused the side of Egypt. Embarrassed by his twofold misconception, with regard to the impossibility of an understanding between England and Russia, and with regard to the strength of Mehemet Ali, the new minister insisted that all Syria should belong to the latter as an hereditary possession, and Candia for his lifetime. He was bold enough to seek behind the backs of the other powers to bring about on this basis a reconciliation between the sultan and his vassal, and thus to extend over both the protectorate of France. But his plan could not be kept secret; and once discovered, Palmerston was immediately at work to frustrate it. The eastern powers cordially met this view. The new king of Prussia, Frederick William IV., warmly interested himself in favor of renewing the great alliance against the revolutionary tendencies of France, and for the joint decision of the eastern question; and thus the French attempt to isolate Russia changed suddenly into precisely the opposite — the exclusion of France. On July 15 the four powers subscribed at London an agreement of this purport: Should Mehemet Ali comply within ten days, he should receive Egypt as an hereditary possession, in consideration of renouncing everything besides, and acquire also Acre and Southern Syria for life; if he refuse after a further interval of ten days only Egypt would remain to him; should he allow this interval also to expire, the sultan would be bound to nothing further, and the contracting parties in this event assured to him in advance their assistance.

This treaty struck the French like a thunderbolt. Their national vanity rose up against the humiliation of seeing a great European question settled without France, and in her despite. The king was beside himself. "The alliance with England," cried Thiers, "is at an end." On his own responsibility Thiers ordered comprehensive preparations, even the fortifying of Paris. The warlike fervor seized



upon the whole nation; revenge on 'perfidious Albion,' and the Rhine frontier, were the watchwords of the day. But a look at the absolutely unprepared condition of the country sufficed to convince the government that France could not thus be precipitated into a great European conflict. To be delivered out of the embarrassment, Thiers endeavored to induce his Egyptian protégé at any sacrifice to accommodate his dispute with the Porte. But Mehemet Ali indignantly rejected all former engagements that ran counter to his demand. All that Thiers obtained from the pasha consisted in the promise to be content with the hereditary possession of Egypt and Syria for his life-time, and to be willing to leave the rest for a direct adjustment with the grand seignior under the mediation of France. On the acceptance of this agreement Thiers made restoration of friendship with England dependent. In the event of extremities he was confident that Mehemet Ali would maintain himself till spring, when the preparations of France would be complete.

Upon no one did this high tone make less impression than upon Palmerston. As formerly, in the Belgian affair, he was determined not to make the least concession to French insolence. If France threw down the gauntlet, he informed Thiers, England would not hesitate to take it up. Since Mehemet Ali had allowed the appointed interval to expire, the arrangement as preconcerted would be executed. While the sultan declared the deposition of the rebel, the Anglo-Austrian flotilla bombarded Beirut (September 14), on the 26th Saida was taken, and on November 4 Commodore Charles Napier reduced Acre. Threatened by a rising of the Maronites on his other flank, Ibrahim evacuated Syria in a precipitate retreat. Mehemet Ali's proud dream was dissolved into nothingness.

This rapid breaking up overwhelmed all of Thiers's calculations. He endeavored to hide his discomfiture behind an increased warlike clamor. Preparations were eagerly prosecuted. The chambers convened at an early day; the fleet was ordered back from the Levant in order to be at hand for all emergencies; there was even question of a blow at the Balearic Isles. But no uproar, however noisy, was able to change the purpose of Palmerston. Since he had need of France, he was indeed very ready to build a bridge of gold for the vanquished; but he also gave an impressive warning, such as only he could give, against any hasty action. And such action the king opposed most energetically. True, he had assented to the complaints and threats of his ministry; he had furthermore welcomed

the occasion for adding to the strength of the army; but a warlike adventure, especially for so inadequate an object as war Syria, he would on no account allow. His refusal to accept the thoroughly warlike speech from the throne which had been prepared, decided the retirement (October 20) of the Thiers ministry. The king summoned Guizot to form a ministry. He had been ambassador in London since 1839, and fully shared the pacific views of the sovereign. In the new cabinet of October 29 he undertook the department of foreign affairs, under the presidency of Marshal Soult. The pacific change of policy was essentially promoted by the unexpectedly rapid solution of events in the East. For there Napier had briefly and convincingly persuaded the discouraged viceroy to accede to a treaty (November 27) which assured to him, in consideration of renouncing Syria and giving up the Turkish fleet, the hereditary possession of Egypt. Startled at first, the Powers, however, approved this arbitrary but judicious adjustment; and therein Leopold, king of the Belgians, who exerted himself honorably to ward off worse dangers, succeeded in helping France out of a false position. The proposal was made by him to substitute for the quadruple treaty one signed by the five Powers, and thus France was again received into the European concert. This occurred by the so-called Treaty of the Straits (July 13, 1841), which closed the Dardanelles against the war-ships of every nation; reserved to Syrian Christians the free exercise of their religion; and for the first time accepted Turkey, since it declared the principle of her integrity and independence, to a participation in the international law of Europe.

It was indisputably the best solution which could be found under the circumstances. But the French people did not forget, and did not lose sight of, the humiliation endured; and a factious Opposition was never weary of impressing it upon them that this result was attributable to the personal policy of the king. He at least could triumph at being able to profit by the warlike ebullition to accomplish one of his cherished objects, the fortification of Paris, which was proposed as far back as 1833, but was then abandoned on account of the hostility of public opinion, and also by reason of the expense. This matter of national defence was reduced in the chambers to a partisan question. The Opposition saw in the detached forts which were proposed only new Bastilles which were to serve the purpose of keeping Paris in check, and in their stead proposed a continuous line of fortifications. The final result was a compro-

mise, in pursuance of which, notwithstanding the immense outlay of 140,000,000 francs, the two systems were combined.

Louis Philippe felt the necessity of creating a diversion for the glory-craving vanity of the people. But he did not suspect what a dangerous method he was employing for this purpose, when, on Thiers's suggestion, he undertook to transfer the ashes of Napoleon to France, and thus fulfil the last wishes of the dying emperor. Amid stormy rejoicing the chamber voted to defray the expense. After permission had been obtained from the English government, the Prince de Joinville sailed to bring home the national relics. The approval with which this purpose was received by the nation was observed by the emperor's heir, Prince Louis Napoleon; and his hopes were thus revived. Seemingly devoted entirely to the sports of the English aristocracy, this born conspirator had never ceased to entertain relations with the opposition in France. To this end he wrote his *Idées Napoléoniennes*, which attributed to the emperor, as his final purpose, to establish freedom, and to improve the lot of the laborer. He even knocked at the door of the Society of the Seasons; pamphlets were circulated in the barracks, offering promotion to officers as a reward for enticing the troops to desertion and treason. The national indignation at the Treaty of the Straits he intended to seize upon and use at once. Full of indestructible confidence in his star, his pocket filled with printed proclamations, on August 6, 1840, accompanied by about sixty men and a live eagle, he landed at Vimereux, not far from Boulogne. But the population remained mute, his little company was dispersed by the troops that attacked them, the boat into which the prince attempted to jump was capsized, and the National Guard completed the laughable issue of the affair by receiving the thoroughly drenched Napoleon. The impression made by this second rash adventure was only one of contemptuous anger; and the prince, sentenced to imprisonment for life, departed to the fortress of Ham. But the bringing home of the emperor's ashes also failed of its object. When "La Belle Poule," which bore them (PLATE XIII.), arrived at Cherbourg, on November 30, Thiers was no longer minister. The ceremony of depositing the ashes beneath the dome of the Invalides passed off coldly, like the winter's day on which it occurred; and the lofty words that celebrated the return home of the master of the world contrasted painfully with the present humiliation of France, and emphasized anew the littleness of the dynasty of July.





The *Monitor* at Newport, Rhode Island, during the Battle of Fort Mifflin, October 10, 1862.

Illustration by J. M. Smith, 1862. (Original painting by J. M. Smith, 1862.)

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## CHAPTER IX.

### THE CHURCH.

CIVILIZATION has been developing itself in three main directions, during the nineteenth century, — the politico-national, the social, and the spiritual; and the results manifested by the last are not less astonishing than those exhibited by the two former. Religion and the church, which to the eighteenth century seemed to occupy a position beyond which the age had passed by the progress of reason, and to have been resistlessly swept away by the Revolution, were introduced anew by Napoleon into the organism of his empire, yet only as a useful instrument of police. They now awoke to a new existence, and showed their living force by an almost unbroken series of surprising successes. The fearful visitations which came upon mankind throughout Europe, in the train of the enthusiasm, rich in hope, which at first greeted the Revolution, the destructive catastrophe that caused the self-exalting power of man to vanish into nothingness, turned away the minds of men with overmastering force from the transitory character of earthly greatness, to the everlasting duration of that which is divine, and from things that bring no comfort to the pure source of consolation. Therewith began a profound transformation, the effects of which were manifested in the reawakening of the religious sentiment; but not less in the renewed assertion of hierarchical desires for supremacy.

It is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable events of recent history that the loss of its worldly possessions became for the Catholic church, and especially for the papacy, the precise turning-point in the development of a power such as had not been manifested even in the great reaction of the seventeenth century. It might be styled an irony of fate that it is chiefly to the victories of Protestant and Graeco-Catholic peoples that the papacy is indebted for its re-establishment. But in the revolutionary era of 1793-1815, devoid of peace and of authority, the papacy appeared to Catholics and non-

Catholics the rock on which the waves of revolution were broken, the bulwark against the return of that power of darkness; and Pope Pius VII. was honored, not only as the one who had suffered most from it, but as having resisted it most firmly. His return to Rome, and the restoration of the States of the Church, were considered as matters of course. The favor extended on all sides to papal interests had not the least connection with motives truly religious. This restored papacy quickly gave evidence that it was not able, as in the earlier centuries, to undertake the leadership of the time, but must rather, by its very nature, stand in hostile opposition to all the acquisitions and to all the progress of the present. This was shown at once by the reaction, that mocked at all modern civilization, which made its entry into Rome at the same time with the government of priests, and, after the suppression of the revolution of 1821, was continued with redoubled strength; and which universally, where the Catholic clergy attained to influence,—in the other Italian states, in Spain and Portugal, and at times also in France,—was urged forward and conducted in the same manner.

In a similar way, without any disguise, the restoration of the order of Jesuits was brought about at this time by the bull — *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum* — of August 14, 1814. The order, faithful to its original purpose, the extirpation of evangelical freedom of conscience, regarded the conflict with revolutionary ideas as only the continuation of the conflict with the Reformation. It sought to make the centre of its activity the training up of a race devoted to it: this object was promoted by seminaries and colleges for ecclesiastics, directed with great skill, and by other institutions especially designed for children of the higher classes. First of all, the order established itself, notwithstanding all prohibitions by law, in France, the natal land of the Revolution; then in Belgium and the Catholic cantons of Switzerland. From Catholic Germany it refrained until the last; even in Austria it did not obtain its first college at Tarnopol till 1820. In Russia a want of foresight caused its colleges, erected at St. Petersburg and Moscow, to be dissolved in 1816; and in 1820 the Jesuits were permanently banished from the entire empire. Poland, however, still remained. From the Jesuits went forth the successor of Pius VII., Leo XII., who in 1825 renewed the Romish year of jubilee, omitted in 1800; and in his brief of July 2, 1826, proclaimed that no one outside the church of Rome, however blameless otherwise, can hope for eternal life. This prin-

ciple Gregory XVI. afterwards amplified by adding a condemnation of the freedom of the press, of Protestantism as responsible for revolutions, and of modern science: and this was repeated immediately after the Great Powers had felt themselves constrained to urge upon the Holy Father, by joint representations, the removal of abuses, which, to the shame of his administration, were matters of public notoriety in the States of the Church.

The work of the Jesuits is now also chiefly Ultramontanism, that is, the system which, together with irreconcilable hostility externally to Protestantism and its spiritual acquisitions, within the church, by the destruction of national churches and the suppression of episcopal independence, contends for a papal power that is simply absolute, and that spreads itself over every domain of human life. France, where first the Revolution, and subsequently the concordat of 1801, had destroyed the liberty of the Gallican church, was its cradle. Persecuted by the populace, sacrificed by the government, the clergy sought protection in unconditional subjection beneath the head of the church. The instability of the Bourbon throne upon Napoleon's return from Elba was in every way adapted to strengthen the conviction that not the worldly state, but the church alone, which had stood unharmed amid all the storms of the age, could supply the foundation for the reconstruction of civil society; and nothing save submission to it, the only external, infallible authority, could deliver the world from its distresses. Hence the strength of the clerical current which seized upon France under the restoration. The first heralds of the new doctrine were de Bonald and de Maistre, for many years ambassador at St. Petersburg, and the author of the book *Du Pape*. But the alliance between the altar and the Bourbon throne appeared also to involve the former in the downfall of the latter. Churches and priests were especial objects of hostility to the Revolution of July. The victor in that conflict, the middle class, paid homage to avowed irreligion; and the new government was far too weak to stand up against this direction of opinion. The bishops lost their seats in the chamber of peers. The old religion was now held to be discarded.

Only the more strongly, in consequence of this, was the religious want of the human heart aroused. While politics were harassed by fruitless and selfish struggles, men suddenly stepped forth from the midst of the Catholics, who not only avowed their adherence to the principles of the new liberty, but claimed it also for the church, and



sought to acquire for their faith a favor far more lasting than that of kings, the weakness of which was so clearly brought to light. At the head of this new movement stood the Abbé Lamennais, who first secured attention by the brilliant style of his work, "Inquiry Concerning Indifference in Matters of Religion." The political supremacy of the papacy was therein proclaimed without circumlocution; a government was entitled to obedience only so long as it was subject to the divine law, embodied in the pope. His end and ideal was the theocratic union of the throne and altar, but this had proved unattainable; therefore he sought to reach the same object in another way,—not through kings, but through peoples. On October 15, 1830, there appeared, with the motto "God and Liberty," the first number of his religious journal, *L'Avenir*, in which he urged the adherence of the church to democracy. Under the impression produced by O'Connell's agitation, and the alliance of the Belgian Clericals with the Liberals, he saluted in the Revolution the indispensable, providential forerunner of a new social order, from which the church's triumph should grow and flourish. He desired to 'catholicize' the new ideas, to unite indissolubly religion and liberty. The new journal professed the most extreme principles of democracy. It applauded the moderate foreign policy of the government, did honor to the revolutions in Belgium, Poland, and Ireland; and demanded of clergy and papacy to place themselves at the head of the popular movements, to regulate and combine them, to cast from themselves the remains of a vanishing earthly greatness; again to take in hand the staff of the shepherd; and to wear, if need be, the fetters of the martyr, in the firm persuasion that from universal liberty religious liberty would come forth. For this reason, complete separation of the church from the state, no public appropriation for worship, no state stipend, but poverty for the clergy. In this manner was Lamennais the prophet of Ultramontanism, which was to become for modern days what the mendicant orders were in the Middle Ages, the demagogical instrument of the Romish church for working upon the masses. In Father Lacordaire and in Count Montalembert—then but twenty years of age—he found enthusiastic disciples and helpers. They established a general agency for the defence of religious liberty, with local committees, organized chiefly for the purpose of accomplishing their demands in a legal and just manner. With the express purpose of eliciting a suit at law against themselves, the three editors of *L'Avenir*, Lacordaire,

Montalembert, and de Coux, opened in Paris a gratuitous and independent school, in which they were the teachers. The count's defence before the chamber of peers gave to the noble schoolmaster the desired opportunity of advocating publicly and openly liberty of instruction; and the condemnation to pay a fine of one hundred francs was a small matter in view of the public exhibition he had made.

A 'Catholic party' began to gather around these men. There arose gradually a movement which drew men's minds toward religious ideas. After the hatred that was weighing upon the church during the Restoration had disappeared, religion with the bourgeois began to pertain to good-breeding, just as it had with the aristocracy under the Bourbons. The free-thinking that went out of fashion among them descended to a lower level of society, and their new religious sentiment grew devoutly side by side with the worship of the papacy. Thus it was made possible that in the midst of the political unfruitfulness of the monarchy of July and of the governments that followed, Ultramontanism was continually advancing in France from one success to another, though, it is true, without being able to inspire French theology again with anything of the scientific spirit which had distinguished it before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The government followed this tendency, promising itself aid from the church against the incessant threats of revolution. The monkish orders celebrated their formal revival. While the Trappists and Carthusians were re-established with entire publicity, the Jesuits came back quietly and filled chancels and confessionals; and this did not seem to be observed by the ministry. Guizot, as minister of instruction, acted upon the conviction that the state could not dispense with the aid of the church in regard to public schools. His educational law of 1833 opened the door to free instruction, that is to say, to the teaching of monks and nuns. The learned Ozanam founded the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, whose ramifications have since extended over all the world; and good society flocked by thousands to the sermons preached at Notre Dame by Lacordaire in his Dominican cowl, and after him by the Abbé de Ravignan.

But he who was the first to labor at this work of elevating the church anew had meanwhile fallen out with it, and by it been sacrificed. The rock on which Lamennais was wrecked was church authority itself. On the one hand, the bishops took a hostile posi-

tion against the simple priest who was emboldened to give them instructions, so that *L'Avenir* was obliged in November, 1831, to suspend for want of subscribers; again, the Curia was little disposed to have its politics prescribed by him, and particularly at this time when it did not know what to do at home in presence of the revolution with which he required them to join hands. When Lamennais, Lacordaire, and Montalembert travelled to Rome personally in order to bring their difference with the episcopate to a decision through the Curia, they were obliged, after waiting six months, to depart leaving their business unaccomplished; and the bull of Gregory XVI. (*Mirari vos*) of August 12, 1832, expressed, without naming persons, a pointed condemnation of their doctrines. This blow Lamennais did not bear. Becoming perplexed with regard to the sole authority which he had hitherto acknowledged, he ended life as a separatist.

In Germany, also, the re-established papacy undertook the same conflict against a national formation of the Catholic church as in France, but under different relations. Instead of the bitter religious division that existed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there occurred in Germany, almost simultaneously with the beginning of the classical period of our literature, a constantly increasing softening of sectarian principles. The War of Liberation bound the German Catholics very closely to their Protestant fellow countrymen, not only as patriots, but also as religionists. The Papacy consequently found itself, in Germany, not merely, as in the Romance countries, in presence of a frivolous unbelief, but of a true religious consciousness. However, different circumstances co-operated here also to facilitate the suppression of this and the conversion of Catholicism into Ultramontanism. The Romantic school in literature and art, with its glorification of the Middle Ages, had prepared the way for this system. The converts in the ranks of the Romanticists, as Friedrich Schlegel, Adrian Müller, Werner, and Fritz Stolberg, were its most serviceable and zealous instruments. Of the German artists who had set up their studios in Rome, the 'Cloister Brothers of Sant' Isodoro,' several followed the same tendency, such as Overbeck, Schadow, and Veit. Public opinion regarded the entire church question as a matter of subordinate importance, and had no thought of watching against proselyting and hierarchical efforts.

Yet the old nationalist spirit still predominated in the German episcopate. In the re-establishment of the Catholic church of Ger-

many, which had fallen into ruins at the same time with the empire, the extirpation of this spirit was, consequently, a principal object sought by the Roman Curia. As a field for experiment, choice was made of the bishopric of Constance, whose vicar-general, Heinrich von Wessenberg, an excellent man, but somewhat wanting in perspicuity, was peculiarly obnoxious as a zealous champion for a German national church. Ostensibly for the sake of erecting a specially Swiss bishopric, the pope announced, in 1814, the division of the diocese. It was an act of open violence, contrary to the will of the bishop, without assent of the chapter, without the privity of any interested. What was effected here in a small way was now taken in hand with uncommon skill and on a larger scale. A restoration of the condition of the church as it was in the old empire lay indeed beyond the reach of possibility. On the other hand, the political severance of Germany into fragments, with their multitudinous warring individual interests, played most effectually into the hands of the Curia in furthering its views for the reorganization of ecclesiastical relations. Church union was as little attainable as political unity in the Congress of Vienna, and the conclusion of the Confederate diet, on June 12, 1817, not to extend its competency to ecclesiastical affairs, crowned the victory of churchly particularism.

As long as the hope of undisturbed and pacific political development prevailed in Germany, the denial of the canonical pretensions of the Curia was regarded as a matter of course. This was considered a question long since settled, which there could hardly be occasion seriously to consider again. But the farther removed the ruling classes became from the ideals of the national enthusiasm, the more did the division of national strength and weakening of national spirit increase papal pretensions. Austria, Bavaria, and the small states of southwestern Germany, all yielded in varying degrees to the spirit of Ultramontanism and—in the Catholic states—of intolerance.

Not the least circumstance that favored rendering the German church papal, was the fact that the most important of the former ecclesiastical territories had devolved upon Protestant princes. The desire of the new sovereigns to win the hearts of their Catholic subjects, the hope of being able by concessions to satisfy the papal diplomacy which stood forth as their advocate, finally, the unacquaintance of these statesmen with the internal conditions of the Catholic church



in general, and in especial with the secret purposes of Ultramontan-ism, have in a very peculiar manner prepared the way for the subjugation of the Catholic church of Germany to Rome. No other prince bestowed so genuine an interest upon the reinvigoration of the Catholic church disorganized by the Revolution as Frederick William III., but no other state has had such bitter experience of the ingratitude of Ultramontan-ism as Prussia. Prussian common law had placed the churches equally under the protection of the state, and admitted no interference of the pope. But at the time when the state became reactionary, the ecclesiastical policy of Prussia forsook the old principles of Frederick, and was led into the dangerous path of direct negotiation with the Holy See. Niebuhr, the historian of ancient Rome, was sent as ambassador to Rome, a Protestant, but, while strongly conservative, also an indefatigable advocate of the Romish pretensions. A concordat was indeed avoided; but the agreement on the basis of which the bull *De Saluto animarum*, of July 16, 1821, established the circumscription of two archiepiscopal (Cologne and Posen-Gnesen) and six episcopal dioceses, and the generosity with which the king granted the means for a rich endowment of the Catholic church, drew from a Roman prelate the exclamation: "We have not negotiated with a Protestant prince, but with a descendant of Theodosius the Great."

There still prevailed in the higher clergy a disposition, fructified by an increasing intercourse with Protestantism, that was free and noble. Catholic theology displayed in Georg Hermes, from 1819 to 1831 professor at Bonn, as well as in Hirscher at Tübingen and their schools, a scientific excellence never manifested before. As the rationalistic Wessenberg had sought by a better education of ecclesiastics, by the establishing of schools for the people, by German hymns and a German liturgy, to prepare the way for a reform, so the excellent J. M. Sailer, bishop of Ratisbon, who was inclined to mysticism, labored unweariedly to promote the spiritual elevation of his church. The archbishop of Cologne, Count Spiegel, laid the chief stress on the formation of an efficient clergy, the cherishing of true piety, and its activity in life; he restricted pilgrimages, the disorder of indulgences, and the improper granting of dispensations to marry. But the Roman Curia scarcely had felt its regained position to be secure, when, led on by the Jesuits, it opened an embittered contest against these free movements in the bosom of the Catholic church. This experience the pastors in Silesia had to encounter first, since

they had ventured to petition for the doing away of Latin as the language of the church. They were charged with factious intrigues, were subjected to discipline by Schimonsky, the Polish-Jesuit prince-bishop of Breslau, and were indebted solely to the interposition of the king that the penalties hanging over them were suspended. In this manner was begun the Romanizing of the Catholic church of Germany. Culture and science were persecuted, superstition and miracle-working cherished. In Münster a Countess Stolberg sold grace-farthings and miracle-pennies. Even the Crown-Prince Louis of Bavaria believed that by the prayers of Prince Hohenlohe, who carried on his business in and about Würzburg, he was cured of his hardness of hearing; and Clemens Brentano was edified for years by the disclosures of Katharina Emmerich, a nun of Dülmen, whose person bore the stigmata. The clergy, no longer recruited, as under the old empire, from the nobility, but chiefly from the lower classes, adhered more and more closely to Rome, in order to have recourse against the state. With every year there came from Rome, across the Alps, fresh pupils of the *Collegium Germanicum*, reopened in 1818, to fill ecclesiastical positions, and to remain afterwards, as previously, fast bound to the general of the Jesuits. After the conversion of the ducal pair, Köthen became the principal nest of Jesuits in North Germany; and after 1830 the authority of the church, as the most effectual protection against revolutions, was preached and inculcated by the Jesuits, although members of their order in Belgium, Ireland, and Poland entertained the closest relations with the revolutionists. In the German crownlands of Austria, after the death of the Emperor Francis, the school system was delivered over to the Jesuits, and from Vienna was developed a zealous propaganda by an influential circle of converts. To the Ultramontanes Protestants were, and are, nothing but erring or rebellious, and consequently excommunicated, Catholics. Four hundred people of the Zillertal, in the Tyrol, having become Protestants, were, in 1837, compelled to emigrate, in violation of all existing rights. The king of Prussia opened an asylum for them amid the mountains of the Silesian frontier.

However great the yielding disposition of the state might be, yet it was inevitably forced into conflict with the constantly widening encroachments of Ultramontanism. This occurred first in Prussia, and the external occasion for it was given by the question of mixed marriages. The former rule, that the sons follow the re-

ligion of the father, the daughters that of the mother, was changed in 1803 to the stipulation, that subsequently the children of mixed marriages should be educated in the father's religion, unless, after consummation of marriage, the husband and wife should come expressly to a different agreement. But after Prussia became a state where one-third of the subjects were Catholics, a portion of the Catholic ecclesiastics were able to exact a promise in advance, from persons betrothed, in respect to the confession of the children, while to those who did not willingly give this promise they refused marriage and absolution. The government sought redress from the bishops; but here it reaped the first fruits of the doctrine that the state, instead of treating directly with its bishops, must allow them to be kept in order through the pope. They desired papal authorization, and thus pointed the government back to the path of negotiation with Rome. The government was unfortunate in selecting a negotiator. The choice unhappily fell upon Bunsen, who did not perceive the subterfuges by which Romish diplomacy knows how again and again to postpone a decision. Finally the brief of Pope Pius VIII., March 25, 1830, gave a decision expressed so ambiguously and insidiously that the government did not consider it acceptable. But at that very time the accession of Gregory XVI., with which the Jesuit party came to be completely at the head of affairs, destroyed all prospect of a better result of negotiations; for just then the new pope forbade to the Bavarian bishops exactly that which had hitherto been the practice in Prussia, and therefore the purpose was resumed at Berlin of arranging an accommodation with the bishops directly. In fact, such an agreement was effected by Bunsen with Archbishop Spiegel of Cologne on June 19, 1834; but the attempt made therein to reach the solution of all difficulties by secret instructions to the bishops should have opened the eyes of the government to the error involved. To complete the mischief, after Spiegel's death, which soon occurred, the romantic fondness of the crown-prince for the ascetic led to the choice of Spiegel's worst enemy as his successor, — the suffragan at Münster, Clemens August Droste zu Vischering, — a bigot of the most extreme type. The government, however, felt itself fully assured by Droste's declaration, that as archbishop he would apply the agreement in the spirit of love and concord.

Personally this gloomy ascetic would not have proved a dangerous adversary, had he not been, with his narrow stubbornness, his hatred

and his ignorance of German science and literature, just the right man to serve as a battering-ram for the Ultramontane party, which was constantly growing more insolent. Immediately after entering upon his office, the new archbishop labored to destroy the life-work of his predecessor, and to undermine the peace of the church which Spiegel had labored to secure. On the ground of the condemnation by the Curia hanging over Hermesianism, he prohibited the reading of Hermes's writings, although his pupils furnished evidence that he had never taught the condemned doctrines; he forbade theological students to attend the lectures of any professors except Walter and Klee; declared absolutely the laws of the state to be incompatible with the rights and liberties of the church; and positively forbade priests to celebrate mixed marriages without the previous promise that the children should be brought up as Catholics. The yielding spirit in which the government promoted conciliation only increased the impudence of its assailant. The government now suffered severely on account of the false position in which it had placed itself by the secret agreement of 1834. The Curia was scarcely informed of this when it rejected the agreement unconditionally, with the most violent reproaches for having been deceived by the government.

From the general situation of the Rhine country a demand was made upon the government to treat this resistance very seriously. Antipathy to Prussia had been from the beginning the dominant sentiment in those territories, estranged from every feeling of nationality for centuries, first by the dominion of the crozier, and subsequently by the recent subjection to France: the connection of the Rhine country with Prussia could hardly be regarded as stronger than that of Belgium with the Netherlands, and the dismembering of this neighboring state exhibited a warning example of the eagerness with which the clerical party would form a league with the Revolution against a heretical government. But unfortunately the Berlin government acted with a want of skill which directly gave the victory into the hands of its enemies. Bunsen protested in the council of ministers that nothing could be secured from Rome except by energetic action: after the archbishop had roughly rejected the milder way of voluntary resignation of office tendered him, he was transported as a prisoner, on November 20, 1837, to the fortress of Minden. But the purpose of bringing him before the court on a charge of high treason, his secretary had foiled by a



timely destruction of the evidences of his guilt: there remained consequently of the proceeding only a police measure without legal forms, and this made a martyr of the archbishop. Lamentation over the Church's bondage resounded widely, and it was not merely the Ultramontanes who spoke thus; Protestants themselves could not approve this assault of brutal force upon liberty of faith and conscience. Bunsen's confidence that the Curia would be overawed was completely at fault. In a solemn allocution of December 10, the pope declared the course of the archbishop to be conformable to his duty, and protested in behalf of the violated liberty of the church, the scorned episcopal dignity, the usurped sacred jurisdiction, and the rights of the Holy See trampled under foot. Thus the pretensions of the Romish church to rule, and the rights of the modern state, confronted each other nakedly, and were irreconcilable.

The painful character of the collision, and the sensation produced by it, were still further heightened when immediately thereafter, on February 27, 1838, von Dumin, the archbishop of Posen, also issued a prohibition to his clergy against celebrating mixed marriages without the promise concerning the education of the children; and then, being threatened with a judicial inquiry for having violated his oath as a subject, declared his willingness to submit, but suddenly recalled this declaration. Upon this, being sentenced to deprivation of office and six months' imprisonment, he did, indeed, accept the pardon offered by the king, who was ever disposed to conciliation; but the prohibition against returning to his diocese he disregarded, by express direction from Rome. He was now arrested a second time, and conveyed to Kolberg. Again the pope interposed his solemn protest against this grievous violation, in the consecrated person of the archbishop, of priestly immunity and of the immemorial rights of the church. The eastern bishops placed themselves on the side of the accused, with the single exception of Count Sedlitzky, the prince-bishop of Breslau, who, however, followed by denunciations, and in heart alienated from his church, laid down his office in 1840, and at a later day passed over to the Protestants.

This conflict of the state with the Romish church embittered the last years of Frederick William III. It was still unsettled when the king closed his eyes on June 7, 1840. But one thing was already decided: the attempt to have an independent Catholic science and a Catholic national church in Germany was stifled at birth,

Long before circumstances rendered it necessary to place the Catholic church in Prussia upon a new basis, and from the beginning of his reign, Frederick William III. cherished the purpose of restoring church union among the Evangelicals. In his simple piety, directed towards a positive Christianity, but devoid of all sectarian narrowness, he conceived it to be a conscientious duty to bring to completion the work prosecuted by his predecessors for nearly two hundred years, and from the fragments of the Reformed confessions, as he saw them before his eyes, to constitute one single Evangelical church. For, in point of fact, there were not standing over against each other a Lutheran and a Reformed church, each sharply defined, and reposing upon its separate confessional basis; the indifferentism of the period had in such a degree effaced the boundary-lines between them that even among theologians the special confessional consciousness seemed to be lost. In May, 1806, a Lutheran preacher was called to the Reformed university of Frankfort, and Schleiermacher, of the Reformed church, to the Lutheran university at Halle; and thus union in the highest teaching bodies of both churches was consummated. In the disastrous time which followed, when, especially under the influence of the Königsberg Bishop Borowsky, the king's interest was turned toward church affairs with increasing earnestness, the purpose became more strongly fixed in his mind to re-establish a united Evangelical church. After this thought had predominated in the founding of the university of Berlin, in which all confessional division was to cease, and the theological faculty would have to do in general solely with Evangelical science, he expressed his wish — for the first time publicly — at the confirmation of the crown-prince, in presence of the assembled Reformed and Lutheran clergymen. His first concern was to put an end to the prevailing liturgical confusion, and to institute a ritual acceptable to both parties. One prepared by him was introduced into the garrison church at Potsdam. But here he ascertained at once by experience that he could please neither of the two. Not discouraged by this, but true to his principle that whenever it related to convictions, nothing was to be prescribed or commanded from the throne, he demanded of his subjects, in an appeal composed by Bishop Eylert, to celebrate the approaching jubilee of the Reformation with him in such a way that they should finally forget ecclesiastical disputes, and, in the spirit of Jesus Christ, unite in one Evangelical church. Accordingly, pursuant to the proposition of

the clergy of the capital, on the anniversary of the Reformation, October 31, 1817, in all the churches of Berlin the Lord's Supper was celebrated agreeably to the new ritual. Participation in the communion in this manner, and the qualification of candidates of both creeds throughout the entire compass of the Union, should constitute the basis for the Evangelical United Church of Prussia. The example of Berlin found imitators; the festival passed off with the most elevated emotion. In different states of the Confederation, besides, in Nassau, the two Hesses, Anhalt-Bernburg and -Dessau, Waldeck, Baden, and the Palatinate of the Rhine, that is, in those only where the Reformed predominated, the Union was established; but the hope of attaining by this means to one single Evangelical church soon proved to be deceptive. Especially the orthodox Lutherans would see nothing in the Union but a revival of unbelieving rationalism and indifferentism, while others, who were favorable to the cause itself, were not in agreement with the manner in which it was urged forward. Thus the work, so enthusiastically commenced, by no means gained the scope which had been anticipated. Even in Prussia it came to a stand, largely through the opposition of the upper classes and the bureaucracy. The vigor with which Altenstein, the minister of worship, desired to push through at least the introduction of the new liturgy, enkindled a contention against it; and the cabinet order of February 28, 1834, which left accession to the Union optional, and only required acceptance of the liturgy as an act of obedience to the sovereign, was not able completely to effect the object. In Silesia, where the Lutherans, led by Scheibel, professor at Breslau, obstinately resisted the work of unification, matters even went so far that military force was applied to the recusants. The Union subsisted, but in its inward being and life it was broken.

In comparison with the extension of the Romish power, a discreditable impression was caused by the inability of Protestantism to obtain a unity and a constitution of its own within the Prussian state. Meanwhile, poor and needy as it showed itself externally, it had actually risen to a higher level. Not merely as a result of the augmented intercourse with others, but still more in consequence of the principle of freedom of conscience which with growing strength was making its way, Protestantism, even in countries that had been hermetically sealed against it at an early day, was gradually finding entrance; but its progress was eminently owing to the magnificent

scientific development which it was accomplishing within itself. In its principles, and in the conflict called forth by them, in which enemies pointed maliciously as symptomatic of its breaking up and of its destruction, its peculiar vital element was made to appear in its full strength. Apart from Romanticists, driven by their fantastic thirst for miracles into the haven of the Romish Church, there were, in especial, three tendencies by whose conflicts the ecclesiastico-religious life was in a great degree replenished with fresh inspiration: the old rationalistic, with its sober reasonableness; the positive Christian, founded by Schleiermacher (Fig. 50), with its sharply defined distinction between the religious domain and the moral and intellectual; and the speculative-theological tendency, which finally



FIG. 50. — Schleiermacher (on his death-bed). From the sketch by F. Michelis.

ended in Hegelianism; each of these, again, having different shades of opinion. This expansion of German Protestant theology and philosophy would have been inconceivable had not Frederick William III. allowed a liberty in his state such as was hardly to be found elsewhere at that time. Narrow-minded as was too often the persecution on account of political opinions, it is the glory of his government that, upon the scientific movement of the time, neither restraint nor compulsion was imposed. Under it lived Schleiermacher, the greatest theologian of the nineteenth century, who revived Protestant consciousness when he restored to the soul the sense of spiritual need. Like-minded with him was the renowned church historian, August Neander (Fig. 51).



On his death-bed Schleiermacher was able to confess that to him the deepest speculative thoughts coincided with the simple Christian faith. But even during his lifetime there were indications that what in him had been blended together—a Christian evangelical piety and free critical speculation, dogma and philosophy—were beginning to go apart. The *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, established by W. Hengstenberg in 1827, sought deliverance from the godless spirit of the time by an unqualified return to the old Lutheran orthodoxy, which allowed no adjustment, and acknowledged no development of Protestantism. The rationalist professors, Gesenius and Weg-



FIG. 51.—Johann August Wilhelm Neander. From an anonymous lithograph.

scheider, were denounced to the government by that periodical as heretics and corruptors of youth. On the other hand, the system of Hegel, which, confident in its own infallibility, had ventured to make an ultimate adjustment of the old contradiction between philosophy and religion, and to attempt to combine both in a higher unity, was parted in two diametrically opposite directions. The Right side of this school held firmly to the agreement of its teachings with dogma; the part that inclined to the Left wing, the Tübingen school, founded by F. Baur, unsettled traditional authority, since it applied scientific criticism to the Gospel history. This last direction of thought obtained its decisive expression in the remarkable book of David

Strauss (Fig. 52), "The Life of Jesus" (1835), which, with all the earnestness and acuteness of the historical critic, undertook to volatilize the person of the Redeemer into a mythical image. The book made an immense sensation. The amazement over this result, which questioned the entire belief of the church, contributed much towards rendering scientific inquiry an object of suspicion to rulers, and suggested the necessity of restricting such investigation.

But not merely in controversy respecting theological doctrines was the living force of Protestantism employed. To this urgency in seeking a deeper apprehension of divine truths were to be added the revivifying of the Christian mind, and the impulse toward an active piety,



FIG. 52. David Friedrich Strauss. From the original and by Carl Meyer engraved in 1876. (F. Schöner.)

at an earlier day a distinctive mark of the Catholic church only. Following the example and course of England, trained in all systems of associated effort, laymen began to organize themselves into unions, and to take part in Christian benevolent work. Numerous Bible societies devoted themselves to the spread of the Holy Scriptures in different languages. The beginnings of the Home Missions were indicated by the founding of the *Romans-House* at Hamburg in 1833, and the institution of Evangelical deaconesses at Kaiserswerth in 1836.

## CHAPTER X.

### THE PRECURSORS OF THE REVOLUTION IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA AFTER 1840.

THE year 1840 is one of the most momentous in the later history of Germany. It is the period when the German national sentiment awoke from its twenty years' slumber. The movement called forth by the Revolution of July had borne no national character; it desired only political liberty. But when, in consequence of the war-cry raised by Thiers, the old French covetous craving for land and thirst for conquest sounded forth, the costs of which a divided Germany would be a second time compelled to bear, an echo responded for which people in Paris were not prepared. In all the lanes was sung Nicholas Becker's *Sie sollen ihn nicht haben den freien deutschen Rhein*; and then arose W. Schneckenburger's prophetic *Wacht am Rhein*. This patriotic elevation would not, however, have attained a strength so imposing, if the Gallic menace of war had not exactly coincided with a succession to the Prussian throne which was fraught with promise.

Great expectations in Prussia and elsewhere greeted the entrance of King Frederick William IV. upon the government. Justified by his careful education, the many-sidedness of his acquirements, and of his tastes, the wealth of his intellect, his heart-winning nature worthy of love, even his buoyant wit, of which Berlin conversation reported many anecdotes, the greatest hopes were cherished concerning him. The well-known opposition in which he stood to his father's sober and stiff manner of government had brought him, it is certain quite without warrant, the reputation of liberal sentiment. Very seldom has a prince mounted the throne with more earnest resolutions, or penetrated with more devout conviction of the difficulty and sacredness of his duties as sovereign: and the commencement of his reign appeared in truth to confirm the boldest hopes entertained concerning it. In every regard the difference between the old and the new — between the laconic, reserved father and his communicative, cordial successor; between the emotionless

nature of the former, and the eager, manifold activity of the latter — was made at once apparent. The publication of the will, by which the dying king warned his beloved Fritz against the growing love of novelty as well as against excessive preference for the old, and made it his duty to hold fast unchangeably to Russia and Austria, the amnesty which opened prison-doors to the victims of political persecution, the supplanting of its chief prosecutor, Kampz, by Savigny as minister of justice, the reinstatement of Arndt in his professorship at Bonn, the removal of the condemnation hanging over Jahn and the re-establishment of gymnastic clubs, the reappointment of von Boyen as minister of war, the call of the brothers Grimm (Fig. 53) to Berlin, the modifying of the censorship, the suppression of the commission to try the political worthiness of suitors for an office, and to investigate suspected officials, — all this, after the period of universal discontent, found the most joyous response.

But nothing was more vividly exciting than the daring disposition of the new king, in disregard of all bureaucratic antecedents, to come forward in public, and with that gift of vivacious, even poetical speech bestowed on him in a high degree, to express his feelings, and to awaken those of his hearers. This gave the homage paid him at Königsberg and at Berlin an impress which he communicated partly on account of his romantic ideas, and in part to efface the remembrance of the old disagreeable system. Hardly had the East Prussian estates, in their act of homage, taken the oath in the castle court of the former city, when the king suddenly arose, and with his hand uplifted to swear, stepped to the side of the tribune, and here in the presence of God and those beloved witnesses he promised solemnly to seek to be a just judge, a faithful, careful, compassionate prince, and a Christian king, as his never-to-be-forgotten father had been. He prayed God for his blessing upon the ruler, to unite their hearts to the consecrated king, and make of him a man according to the divine will, a benefactor to the good, a terror to evil doers! "With us," he concluded, "there is union between the head and members, between prince and people, in the grand and glorious union of all orders striving toward one noble end. So may it please God to keep our Prussian country itself, Germany and the world, manifold and yet one; as the noble bronze, composed of many metals melted together, becomes one, the noblest of all, and is subjected to no rust, but only to the beautifying influence of the ages." More significant was it than these elevated words that the king, in replying



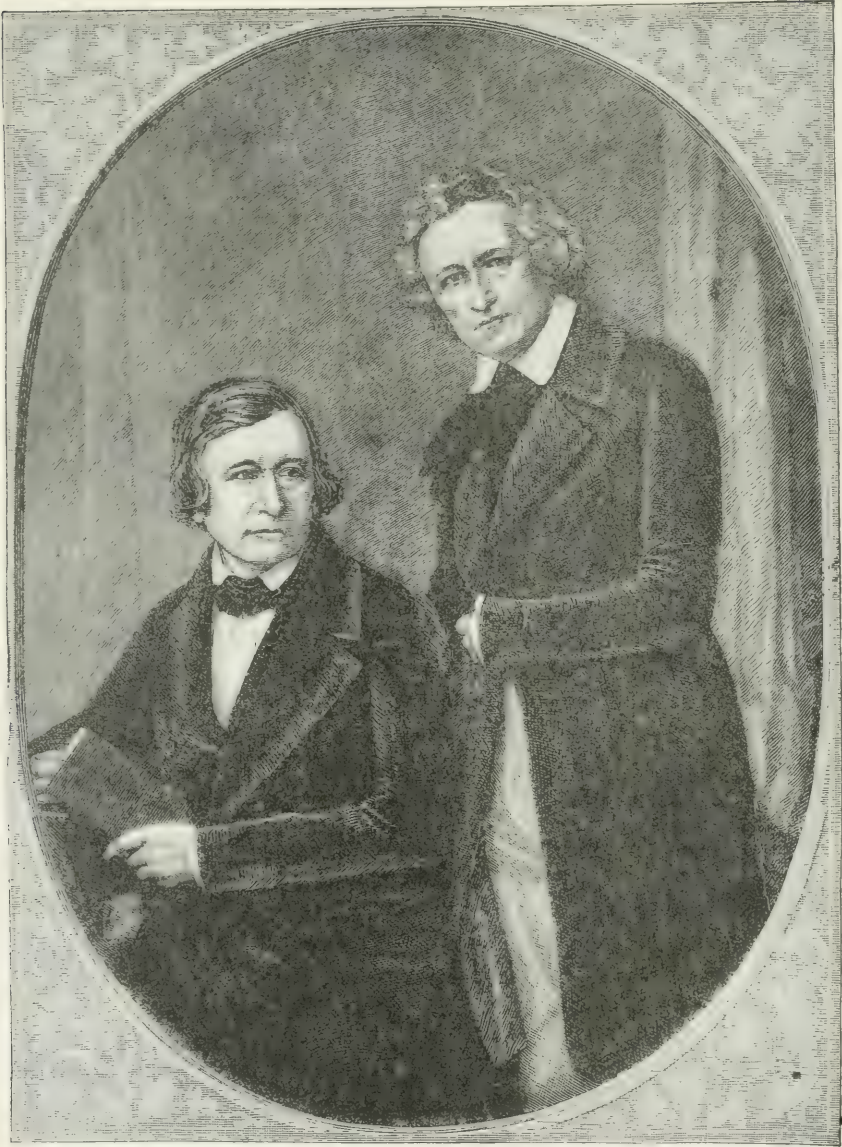
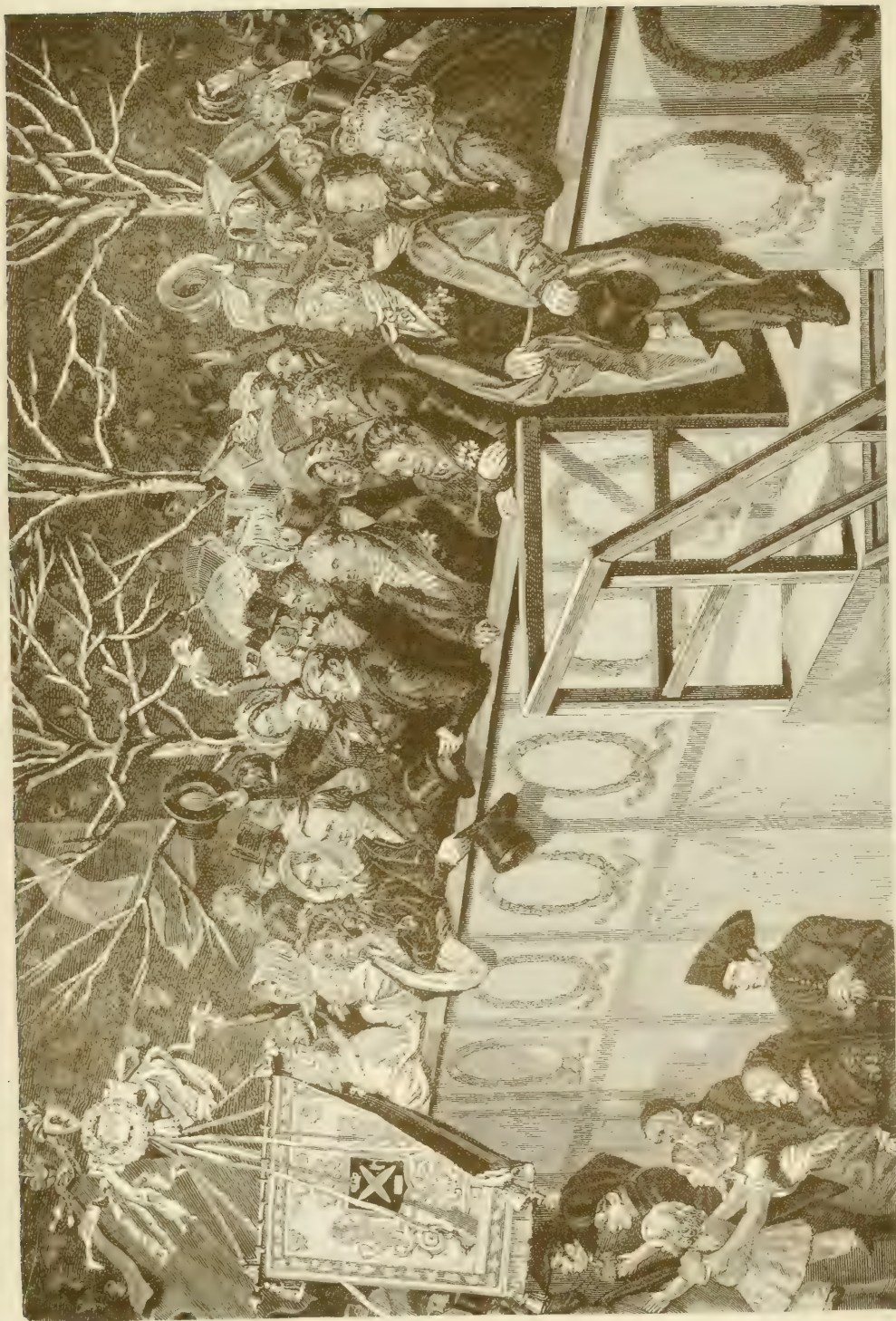


FIG. 53.— Wilhelm and Jakob Grimm. From the engraving by L. Sichling (1812–1863) ; original, a daguerreotype by Biow.

to the unexpected reminder, almost unanimously adopted by the estates, of the fulfilment of the promise of a constitution (made in 1815 and 1823), while not expressly engaging to comply, did not receive the request ungraciously. The festival at Berlin, on Octo-





Group from the Picture of the Welcoming of Frederick William IV. to Berlin.  
From the engraving by F. W. Schwechten ; original painting by Franz Krüger (1797-1857). (In the Royal Palace at Berlin.)



ber 15, his forty-fifth birthday, passed off more quietly (1859 XIV.). "I know," he said in the castle to the nobility of the provinces, the clergy, and the knights, "that I hold my crown from God alone, and that it well becomes me to say, 'Woe to him who touches it!' I know, also, I hold it in fee from the Lord of all, and that I am accountable to him for every day and for every hour of my reign. Whoever desires a guaranty for the future, to him give I these words. Better warrant cannot I give, nor can any man upon the earth. It has more weight and binds faster than all coronation oaths and all pledges upon parchment." Then, stepping out upon the balcony, he vowed, in the presence of the people who filled the castle grounds, and were standing there in the rain, to maintain peace as far as his power extended; he sought his subjects' love, which he could not do without. He prayed them to promise with the finest, clearest utterance of the mother-tongue, with a strong and honest *Ja!* ('yes') to remain faithful to him through good and evil days. A thundering *Ja!* answered him.

These words from the mouth of the king excited great enthusiasm. Cooler judges rightly inferred from them the refusal of the desired constitution; or they reflected that from the demand to say Yes, the people could well deduce the right to say No at another time. And the very next manifestations on the part of the king proved of what inconsistency he was capable. In direct contradiction to his expressions at Königsberg, a cabinet order was issued against the error of saying that he had there expressed his assent to the proposal of the estates for a state constitution: the five members of the estates forming the minority opposed to that conclusion were assured of the king's approval; the publication of Jacoby of Königsberg, "Four Questions of an East Prussian," which claimed the grant of national assemblies as an undoubted right, was sent to the state prosecutor.

The king desired nothing more eagerly than the cessation of the church controversy. The interference of the worldly power in a sacred cause was so decidedly in opposition to his fundamental views respecting the due independence of the church that he was ready at once to set aside the compulsory measures that had been employed. The contest with the adversaries of the Union was suspended; the Old Lutherans were pacified by a so-called general concession, and were protected against further molestations. The archbishop of Posen received permission to return to his diocese.



More difficult was it to put a stop to the troubles at Cologne, for the further the state went in its advances with the greater confidence of victory did the papal Curia rise in its pretensions; and the king was so perplexed that in return for the solitary concession that the Archbishop Droste should not return to his seat, but be appointed coadjutor to Bishop Geissel of Spire, — promoted to be cardinal, — he made the most comprehensive grants to the Romish church, which sacrificed in large part the previous rights of the Prussian state in reference to the church. The demand with regard to mixed marriages was dropped, the royal placet was given up, to the bishops was granted absolutely free intercourse with Rome, the canonical mission for the Catholic university professors was introduced, and in the ministry of worship a Catholic division was instituted, nominally to secure the state's right of sovereignty over the church, but soon it developed into a representative of Romish interests within the government of the state. The Catholics who were disposed to be national experienced in the place where they ought to have found protection against Rome precisely the opposite; they were delivered over to the Jesuit invasion. Finally the pretensions of the Curia came to be looked upon as equivalent to the interests of the Catholic population.

The king's romantic ideas of a patriarchal kingdom responsible to God alone, of the sovereignty of a church representing upon earth the divine order, could not fail to come into collision with an age already filled with an entirely different spirit. The Revolution of July had dealt a death-blow to the Romantic School, which since Heine and Börne had disappeared from literature. Lyric poetry struck a key altogether new; it became political; and, whatever its poetic merit, it was listened to by men, and not as hitherto preferably by women; and the songs of a Herwegh and a Hoffmann von Fallersleben, of a K. Beck and a Freiligrath, of a Prutz and a Dingelstedt, addressed to questions of the day, roused their minds to enthusiasm, or to feelings of exasperation. The names of state and fatherland awoke from oblivion a vague but powerful impulse, enhanced the interest in behalf of public affairs, and with it the sentiment of nationality and the might of public opinion. The conviction of their own importance on the part of the middle class employed in trade or business, which increased in the same degree with their prosperity, the spirit of enterprise, for which a wide field was opened in the development of the great industries, began to find it intolerable to be

kept in leading-strings by a bureaucracy not seldom devoid of just perceptions. List, by whom the first great German railway, extending from Leipzig to Dresden, was called into existence, boldly conceived of this as the foundation of a general system of railways for all Germany. Soon the iron roads pitilessly cut through the frontiers, so anxiously shielded, of the separate states, swept men out of their narrowness, and introduced restlessness and haste in place of the former monotonous and deliberate ways of proceeding. The railway stocks were 'bills drawn in favor of German unity.' The maritime business of the Hanseatic towns, notwithstanding its unprotected character, was developed to an extraordinary extent. In the year 1847 Bremen established the first direct line of postal steamers connecting the European continent with North America; while the Austrian Lloyd, formed at Bruck's suggestion, stimulated German trade with the Levant.

Two great assemblies of German men of science and culture, the so-called 'Germanist' conventions, deserve notice. The first met, as proposed by Reyscher, in the Town Hall at Frankfort-on-the-Main, in 1846. Close by the meeting of the pitiable Confederation, that assembly brought together the most renowned names of the learned world, the honored bearers of the idea of German nationality—Arndt, Dahlmann, the two Grimms, Gervinus, Beseler, Waitz, Lapenberg, etc. On the evening of its opening Uhland, in weighty words, referred to the portraits of the emperors in the hall, ready to spring from their frames and to come among those assembled, to incite them and to lead them.

In the same spirit were conducted the proceedings of the second and last assembly of Germanists, held at Lübeck, in 1847, concerning the element of nationality in the Hanseatic towns, the maintenance of German nationality and language in foreign lands, concerning the history and value of the jury, concerning Roman and national law. In like manner was celebrated at Leipzig, in the summer of 1840, the jubilee in honor of the 400th anniversary of the art of printing. It took the form of a grand declaration of nationality, a glorification of intellectual forces and their organs, a proclamation of the approaching victory over absolute and arbitrary power. In the provincial chambers the language of the opposition was constantly growing bolder and more confident. More and more the national desires were condensed and confined to practical demands, — for one and the same system of measures, for a standard of

coinage and weight, for one flag at sea, and even for a common system of law.<sup>1</sup>

This same national heart-beat animated the breast of King Frederick William IV., with whom the patriotic impressions experienced in the War of Liberation remained. At the laying of the cornerstone of the building added to the cathedral of Cologne, which, surrounded by an array of German princes, he laid in September, 1842, as an emblem of German unity as well as of the concord of the confessions, which he imagined completely restored, he impressed upon the transaction his own character. "This is," said the king, "no common splendid edifice. It is the work of the brotherly sentiment of all Germans, of all creeds. When I consider this, my eyes are filled with rapturous tears. Here shall the most beautiful gates of the whole earth be lifted up. Germany rears them. May they, through the favor of God, be the gates of a new, great, and happy time. Never may there be found here a way to honor in the dishonorable corruption of the unity of German princes and peoples, and in the violation of the peace of confessions and of orders. The spirit that rears these gates is the same as that which broke our fetters nine and twenty years ago, the spirit of German unity and power. Let that spirit build! let it finish the work! And may the great work make known to the latest generations a Germany great through the unity of her princes and her peoples; a Prussia happy through the splendor of the great fatherland, and in its own prosperity; and a brotherly feeling cherished by men of different creeds who have perceived that they are one in the one Divine Head! I pray God that the cathedral of Cologne may tower above this city, above Germany, above the ages, rich in the peace of men, rich in the peace of God, till the end of days!" The toast of the Archduke John at the banquet: "No Austria, no Prussia, in future, one sole great Germany, firm as her mountains," resounded triumphantly from one end of Germany to the other. The thought of German unity, shortly before demagogical and revolutionary, was now rendered legitimate, since kings and princes openly professed it.

This warmth of sensibility in the king was not united, unfortunately, with the clearness of thought and firmness of character which make the statesman. By nature he was more adapted to be an artist than a ruler. Occupation with art and science was

<sup>1</sup> The new general civil code of the German empire went into effect on January 1, 1900, replacing the diverse systems of civil law previously prevailing. — ED.

for him the need of life. Every evening, without any ceremonial, he gathered about him and his wife Elizabeth, of kindred mind, a circle of highly cultivated and intellectual men. A standing guest at this time was Alexander von Humboldt. Although he agreed neither in opinions nor in character with the king, yet a like interest in the advance of knowledge and culture united the king to the man of great erudition, to the atheist, who was an abomination to his rigorous churchly belief; and the noble friendship which he maintained with him became a friendship hospitable towards all science and art. Both owed the amplest encouragement to this prince. An evidence of the manner in which he honored desert in them he gave in 1842 by instituting the section for civilians in the Order of Merit (*pour le mérite*). The Berlin Academy of Sciences is indebted to him for its flourishing condition. With royal munificence he supported scientific investigations, the publication of the works of Frederick the Great and of the great *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, and the Archaeological Institute at Rome. Still, art was the special element in which he felt himself at home. He invited L. Tieck to Berlin to elevate the modern stage, and restored to it the "Antigone" and "Oedipus" of Sophocles, with the choruses of Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. His particular favorites among the arts were those of form, and among those, again, architecture. But while his contemporary, Louis of Bavaria, paid exclusive homage to the beauty of Greek forms, the heart of Frederick William IV. belonged to German, and especially to Christian art. He honored the memory of Schinkel, who died shortly after his accession to the throne, by the command that all works of art commenced by him should be finished in accordance with the master's designs. He did very much for the beautifying of Berlin, by the completion of the New Museum, by the Victoria groups on the castle bridge, and other works, but above all by Rauch's magnificent statue of Frederick the Great. The noblest of his plans for building was the memorial cathedral, with the sepulchre for princes, the Campo Santo, intended as a Protestant addition to the cathedral of Cologne, for which Cornelius prepared his marvellous cartoons. It is now only a ruinous fragment, a type of the many things which the king began and did not bring to completion. From King Frederick William came the transformation of the environs of Potsdam, which, combining architecture and sculpture with the advantages of the landscape, created a total picture of unequalled beauty. In what degree his aim extended beyond this to the maintenance and



restoration of edifices of the Middle Ages, the cathedral of Cologne, besides many others, and the castle of the grand master of the Order of Teutonic Knights at Marienburg, are eloquent witnesses.

But however famous his creations in this domain might be, they did not entitle him to the thanks of an age whose attention was almost exclusively directed to his political acts or omissions. That which was vouchsafed was accepted as a poor payment on account; and even what he did, from the inconsistent manner in which it was done, brought him only censure and derision. His resentment at the disappointment thus occasioned induced the king, who himself had let loose the stream of talk and counter-talk, to make the attempt to shut the mouth of the press by confiscations and prohibitions. For his own most peculiar and cherished creations, as the restored Order of Swans, and the Anglican-German bishopric in Jerusalem, the public at large had no sympathy. But hardly anything ever laid so bare the separation existing between his ideals and the spirit of the times, as the favor which church orthodoxy and political reaction enjoyed with himself, the court, and the government. After Eichhorn's nomination as minister of worship, orthodoxy was a more decisive requisite in appointments to chairs of theology than scientific qualifications. The invitation to Berlin of the jurist Stahl, who professed to be an adherent of Haller's doctrine, and a fundamental opponent of the constitutional system, had the effect of an alarm-shot upon scientific circles. Schelling's (Fig. 54) call to the chair of philosophy, vacant since the death of Hegel, was to "combat the dragon's seed of the Hegelian philosophy, of superficial sciolism, and of the dissolution of home discipline;" but it accomplished neither this object nor the promise of the prophet himself, that he would erect a strong citadel not only for philosophy, but also for religion, in a new 'Philosophy of Revelation.' The philologist, A. Böckh, in an academic festival discourse, frankly expressed the thought that in scientific questions the authorities have no right to interpose. Dahlmann wrote a history of the English Revolution, which was designed to show, by way of warning from the example of the Stuarts, whither it leads when government obstinately shuts itself up in opposition to the most earnest warnings of the time, and the most righteous demands of the people: and David Strauss, in his "The Romanticist on the Throne of the Caesars," described the king satirically under the mask of **Julian**, in order to point out "that every man, no matter how gifted and powerful, who undertakes to restore, or forcibly to retain,

a form of spirit and life which men have outlived, must succumb to the Galilean, or to the genius of the future."

The effort to convert the age in ecclesiastical and religious matters had only the result to provoke opposition to the attempted compulsion of conscience. Less from a feeling of religious needs than from displeasure at political relations, the public rushed impetuously into church questions. This opposing movement was expressed in the



FIG. 54.—Schelling. From the engraving of A. Schultheis: original painting by J. Stieler (1781–1858).

liveliest manner in the province of Saxony. Here, under the leadership of the preachers Uhlich and Wislicenus, the so-called Friends of Light, or Protestant Friends, became separatists, rejecting the traditional creeds, and placing reason above revelation. A like independent community was formed in Königsberg around Rupp, a displaced preacher. The king, penetrated by ecclesiastical views, desired to maintain with all vigor the validity of the traditional creeds; and when the general synod of 1846 undertook to abridge

them in some measure, he refused to approve that decision, and did not again summon the synod. Yet on practical grounds the royal edict of toleration of March 30, 1847, rendered the leaving of the church of the country dependent only on a declaration made before the judge. The Catholics now thought it a suitable time to gather the fruits of the weakness of the state. Everywhere Ultramontaniam came forward with growing arrogance. The Netherlands became one of the most productive fields of labor for the Jesuit Propaganda. In Bavaria, with the Abel ministry, the Ultramontanes (1841) seized the helm of state; Protestant soldiers were ordered to bow before the sanctuary; the Gustavus Adolphus Union was prohibited; the bishop of Augsburg received from Pope Gregory XVI. a sharp reproof on account of a funeral office celebrated for the Protestant stepmother of the king. In Baden also Archbishop von Vicari began a contention with the government respecting mixed marriages. Pilgrimages and processions without number were instituted, fraternities were founded, the worship of saints was enjoined. But Ultramontaniam, intoxicated with victory, longed for a yet more palatable triumph. Bishop Arnoldi of Treves was able to prepare an exhibition of the precious seamless coat of Christ, a relic of his church unfortunately existing in twenty other specimens; and blind faith bore even this strongest test. For fifty days this 'Catholic migration' lasted; and the clergy rioted in the sense of the power, over not merely the ignorant multitude, but also the highest strata of society, which they thus brought to view.

But a Saxon newspaper published on October 16, 1845, a fulminating letter to the bishop of Treves, the Tetzels of the nineteenth century, composed by Johannes Ronge, suspended chaplain at Grotkau in Upper Silesia. This letter, of which the abounding rhetoric only echoed the general condemnation, produced an immense effect. Many saw already the rise of a second Luther. Quickly the movement spread over all Germany, looking far beyond the immediate occasion directly toward utter separation from Rome. Of the German Catholic communities constituted on the model of those formed in Breslau by the excommunicated Ronge there already existed, in 1846, 298, with a membership of 60,000, to which is to be added the 'Christian Catholic' community founded at Schneidemühl in Little Posen. When, however, German Catholicism at its first council held in Leipsic, after rejecting the Apostles' Creed, made the attempt to set forth its own confession of faith, its inward emptiness

and hollowness were made apparent. Notwithstanding the legal recognition secured in 1848, through dissension and amalgamation with democratic radicalism it perished miserably in the raging of the political tempests.

Experiences such as these in the ecclesiastical domain were little adapted to deprive the king of the distrust with regard to the demands of the time which had previously filled his mind. But with mere provincial diets the state could no longer move on; the loan of 120,000,000 thalers required for the construction of railways could by no means be obtained without the assembly of the realm. From the very first day of his reign King Frederick William IV. had been convinced of the necessity of creating a general representation of the people. But the dilatory manner in which he went to work had its cause, not merely in his want of resolution, but also in the general situation of Europe. He detested constitutionalism, which then dominated the political opinions of the day; and in the French charter of 1830, in which men saw the ideal of a constitution, he detected utter hollowness. On the other hand, the absolute monarchy, which still remained unchanged only in Russia and Austria, could not be maintained intact among a people in the formative stage like the Prussians; and yet he was compelled to fear lest by departing from it he should end the traditional alliance with these two powers. It was now in perfect correspondence with his character, that being placed between opposites so irreconcilable, he conceived the possibility of discovering a form for the state by which the word given by his father should be redeemed, and still not the least concession be made to the principle of constitutionalism, in his mind equivalent to Revolution. As his ideal there stood before his eyes a patriarchal monarchy responsible to God alone, encompassed by the organization of the estates likewise resting upon a divine appointment, and representing the unity of all the provinces. In this view he already in 1841 put his hand to the further devising of arrangements for the different orders of the realm. The concession which he desired to make was threefold, — the biennial meeting of the provincial diets, a restricted publicity for these meetings, finally the formation of committees from those diets in order to avail himself of their counsel and co-operation whenever affairs should relate to the interests of more than one province. On October 18, 1842, there was opened the assembly of the united committees, which was intended to supplement the local institutions by an element of unity. The



king was much pleased with the result of their deliberations. He designed to secure concord between prince and people by the new arrangement. But this way of measuring out, as by spoonfuls, rights already in full possession of nearly all the other German states, neither satisfied the claims of the people nor sufficed for the necessities of the government. The king, however, considered actual diets of the realm, a representative system, now as formerly wholly inapplicable to Prussia. The central point of the king's plan, which had been weighed in many consultations, consisted in the union of the eight provincial diets in one assembly. At its session on March 11, 1846, the ministry of state approved the question of urgency, two votes opposing.

On February 3, 1847, the anniversary of the "Appeal to my People," there followed the announcement of the new constitution as issuing from the personal determination of the king, not being countersigned by a minister. As often as new loans, the introduction of new or the increase of existing taxes, might be requisite, the provincial diets were to meet in one United Landtag, the same being divided into two parts, — a Court of Lords, consisting of the princes, barons, and the chiefs of the great families of landed proprietors; and, secondly, 231 representatives of the order of knights, 182 members from the cities, and about 120 peasants, as a second court. A fixed periodical recurrence of the king's summons was avoided, from fear of approaching too closely to constitutional usages; in the intervals a committee of the several states should be charged with the duty of representing the assembly, which should be called together at least every four years. Concessions for which, if made at the beginning of his reign, universal rejoicing would have thanked the king, now produced disappointment rather than content.

On April 11 the king opened the first United Landtag with a brilliant discourse. He gave in it the solemn assurance that no power on earth should ever succeed in inducing him to transform the natural relation between prince and people into one of conventions and constitutions; now and evermore would he not consent that between our Lord God in heaven and this land, a written sheet should interpose, like a second Providence. From the delusive demands of leaders of the people he appealed to his people themselves, still the old Christian, upright, faithful, and brave people, who fought the battles of his father, and who desired not the co-government of representatives, and the division of the sovereignty; he

warned, yes, he threatened, those assembled, not to suffer themselves to be tempted by that rôle. "As for me and my house," — thus he concluded, — "we will serve the Lord."

Although in passages it carried the hearers along with it, the discourse as a whole was coldly received. The royal rhetoric had quickly stultified itself; it had only laid bare the incompatibility of this absolute-theocratic kingdom with the opinions of the age. The majority regarded it as a defiance; the feeling of gratitude subsided beneath the urgency to secure the fundamental rights created by the edicts of 1815 and 1820, and brought in question by the royal patent of February. Such was the purport of the address prepared by Beckerath of Crefeld, and moved by Count Schwerin, which after a brilliant debate was adopted in a modified form by a vote of 484 to 107. Thus the point of controversy at once publicly turned on this: the king rejected the guaranty of rights, and conceded only that the patent of February 3 might be modified. But the opposition persisted in their stand. Upon Hansemann's motion, the Landtag prayed that it be summoned every two years, that the committees injurious to its rights be done away, and that no state debt be incurred without its approval. The king having positively rejected the second point, the Landtag refused the loan demanded; since, as Vincke said emphatically, the Landtag could protect its assailed rights only by standing upon its guard against every demand for money. On all other points the Landtag showed the most decided inclination to come to an understanding, but the king repeated his former declaration that he would go into a further improvement of the constitution only on the basis of ampler experience. In ill-humor he travelled to Breslau in order to be out of the way at the close of the Landtag, June 26. On that occasion Minister von Bodelschwingh made use of the offensive expression, "The government will know how to secure respect for the laws." At all events, the Prussian state had thus taken in a legal manner a great step forwards. Return to absolutism was impossible; a constitution was granted, which was based upon a mutual relation of rights, and of which the further development was intrusted to experience. But already the publication of its proceedings lent an unexpected importance to the Landtag, and its most brilliant speakers belonged wholly to the opposition. "Prussia," said Lord Palmerston, "has now cast the die, and she must go forward, for to return is impossible; but if Prussia goes forward, Germany will follow."

This was confirmed later, and to have given the first impulse is the merit of King Frederick William IV. The necessity of reforming the military system of the Confederation had been most impressively taught by the experience of the year 1840, for it was then proved that the Confederation had left Germany completely without defence against a hostile attack. Nothing proposed by Prussia was done but the appointment of military inspection; and the old dispute whether Ulm or Rastatt should be made a Confederate fortress was ended by constructing both. Even to bring forward reform of the Confederation was fruitless. Although Metternich, in an interview at Stolzenfels, altogether declined the suggestion to that effect, the king did not cease bestowing his attention on the subject. He corresponded respecting this with Albert, the prince consort of England, who, full of anxiety, foresaw the convulsions which the vital forces of Germany would undergo, if Prussia should not assume the lead of a judicious and systematic development; but he concluded in advance that the German kings, great and small, dukes, princes, princelings, and cities, never would willingly surrender any part of their rights of sovereignty in favor of the Confederation. The Prussian proposal of 1846, that every state in the Confederation should be allowed to suppress the censorship, and the simultaneous proposal of Würtemberg for the publication of the protocols of the Confederation, met the fate inevitable at Frankfort, of postponement. A memorial which the king caused to be elaborated by General von Radowitz, one of his confidants, recommended the improvement of the Confederation, not merely by uniform provisions respecting the army and the institution of a Supreme Confederate Court of Justice, but also by extending the Zollverein so as to include the whole Confederation. He was even prepared to give up to the Confederation and Austria that basis of Prussia's laboriously acquired influential position in Germany. So deeply was he persuaded of the pre-eminence pertaining to Austria, the presiding power in the Confederation, that in this matter also he desired to leave it the precedence. Metternich, however, did not consider the point of time, when the indications were that a storm was ready to break, as being the suitable one for hoisting more sail; and when some weeks later the king was prepared to renew his proposals more urgently, they were outstripped by the force of events.

The discontent with the political conditions, augmented by the suffering in agricultural districts, resulting from bad harvests and

potato disease, ended in a movement with whose overwhelming vehemence the protracted and deliberate reform which the king contemplated could not keep pace. In Bavaria the Ultramontane Abel ministry, tottering for some time, fell on February 17, 1847, because it refused to confer on the Irish dancer, Lola Montez, the mistress of the king, the title of countess of Landsfeld, and was replaced by von Maurer and his associates, who complied with the royal desire. The Liberals of the several states took the first step, in 1847, toward organizing as a great co-operating party by founding the *Deutsche Zeitung*, edited by Gervinus, which declared as its object, "to sustain and to strengthen the sentiment of the community and unity of the nation, in the anticipation that history will thence lead on by some valid occasion to the transformation of the loose ties existing between the states into one federal state, and thus widen the narrow scope of the Confederation." The party obtained in this manner, for the first time, a common organ throughout all Germany. The Radicals of the southwest just at this time, September, 1847, formulated their demands at an assembly held in Offenbach. Following their example, the Liberals now also prepared for a general meeting of the party. Here Mathy and Hansemann first maintained the view that a more reasonable conformation of Germany was not to be sought in connection with the Confederation, but by means of improving and extending the Zollverein without coming into any closer relation with Austria than that now existing. To strengthen the idea of unity, first of all measures should be brought forward as nearly as possible of the same purport in all the chambers throughout Germany. The first of these efforts was the motion made by Bassermann, on February 12, 1848, in the Second Chamber of Baden, for the creation of a popular representation in the Confederate diet. Since the princes had hitherto confronted every attempt at unity only by prevention, the German people had come to consider that national reform must be brought to pass, in contravention of the princes, by the Liberal opposition, and by democratic methods.

This growing national sentiment received a powerful impulse through the controversy which had arisen between the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and the Danish crown; for this furnished evidence that under existing relations national right and national honour might be sacrificed to the arrogance of even the smallest adversary. Immediately after the breaking up of the old empire, and on the issuing of the patent of September 9, 1806, which declared the



duchies to be an inseparable part of the monarchy, attempts had commenced to undermine the ancient statute laws, and to supplant the German language. In this manner the Danes sought compensation for the loss of Norway; and the Congress of Vienna acquiesced in the king's refusal to enter the German Confederation. Afterward the attacks upon the independence of the duchies, and the wanton measures for Danizing them, did not cease. But these very acts awakened the consciousness of German nationality and the determination to defend their historic rights. The first resistance to Danish encroachments came from the University of Kiel, when there was as yet no thought of a separation from Denmark. This learned body was followed by the order of knights, who stood forth as being, in a measure, the possessors and protectors of the rights of the country. But their complaint, prepared by Dahlmann, was rejected by the diet of the Confederation. This resistance was considerably intensified by the prospect of the impending extinction of the male line of the Danish royal family, the house of Oldenburg; for in the kingdom of Denmark the female, in the duchies the male, line of succession prevailed; and consequently the division of the Danish state into two parts was to be expected. Uwe Lornsen, governor of the island of Sylt, embraced the peculiar historical relation of this question to law, in three propositions, which subsequently constituted the palladium of Schleswig-Holstein in the struggle against the pretensions of the 'Eider-Danish' party, which labored to secure the complete incorporation of Schleswig as far as the river Eider, its southern boundary: (1) These duchies are independent countries; (2) they are indivisible; and (3) they can be inherited only in the male line.

It was a long time before this contention became a matter of popular interest in the remainder of Germany. It was first made so by the open letter of July 8, 1846, which the king, Christian VIII., had suffered the 'Eider-Danes' to draw from him. This declared the succession as established by the law of the Danish realm to prevail in Schleswig and Lauenburg, and likewise in a part of Holstein. A loud and unanimous protest was the reply of the duchies to this unprecedentedly daring contempt of their rights. A stormy agitation of mingled indignation and shame spread through all Germany. While the learned plunged into the mystery of hereditary succession with regard to agnates and cognates, representatives of the people and the press vied with each other in warnings and

appeals to the governments, to step forth in behalf of the endangered honor of Germany. Chemnitz's song, *Schleswig-Holstein unsern schlungen*, became a national hymn. Never had a political question to such a degree seized upon the entire nation. The Confederate diet took hold of the matter, and expressed its confidence "that the king will consider the rights of all, and especially of the rightful male heirs and of the Holstein Estates."

On January 20, 1848, Christian VIII. died, at a time when portents of the Revolution were already threatening in the sky. In this agitation was involved from this time onward the future course of the affair of Schleswig-Holstein.

Even Metternich, since the Revolution of July, could not resist a certain amount of yielding to modern ideas. The extraordinary success of the Zollverein forced upon him the reflection, whether the desperate condition of Austrian finances could not be amended in a similar manner. But so narrow was his system of government, so rotten its administration, that every attempt at reform rebounded from it, and nothing remained but for it to be managed in the old way as long as it would go on at all. And yet the construction of four great state lines of railway, from Vienna to Dresden, Munich, and Trieste, and from Venice to Milan, announced the arrival of a new era most dangerous to the old régime. The composite population of Austria bore this condition in part with stupid resignation, in part with bitter but helpless discontent. In the ranks of the German-Austrians one might have sought in vain for an opposition; in poetry only did the prevailing discontent find utterance, in the tone of complaint in the poems of Anastasius Grün and Nikolaus Niembsch von Strehlenau ('Nikolaus Lenau'), more feelingly and boldly in those of K. Beck, Alfred Meissner, and Moritz Hartmann. These writers were compelled, in consequence of the inexorable censorship, to fly to foreign parts.

While in Germany the pressing demand for unity was the leaven that gradually pervaded the nation and caused a universal fermentation, on the other hand, in Austria the impulse which with constraining force urged forward reform proceeded from the hostility of the non-German races, the Magyars and Slavs, to the predominance of the German element representing the unity of the empire. It was not the German-Austrians, but the Magyars, who exhibited the first stirrings of political life. With the founding of the Hunga-

rian Academy began the linguistic and literary regeneration of the Magyar race. At the meeting of the estates in 1830, there was apparent for the first time the desire for the elevation of the Magyar language, hitherto absolutely despised by the nobility, to be the official language in place of Latin. Afterwards, during the protracted sitting of the 'Reform' diet of 1832-1836, by reform in the relations of the great land-owners, and in the administration of justice, and by other important measures, the approximation of the Hungary of the Middle Ages to the political forms of modern life was effected, and the Magyars carried on the elevation of their race with increasing energy and success. The diet, in its closing edict of 1836, conceded that the principal text of the laws should be in Magyar. Count Stephen Széchenyi, a patriotic aristocrat, strove to promote the economic elevation of his country, which is indebted to him for steam navigation on the Danube. But he found in Vienna no sympathy for his ideas, and at home the political current soon swept far beyond him. Among the nobility there gathered around Louis Batthyányi, József Eötvös, L. Teleki, and Ferencz Déak,—at that time already highly respected,—a moderate opposition, who saw in a constitutional government for the possessions of the crown the best pledge for obtaining a Hungarian constitution. The most dangerous adversary of the government, however, was the advocate, Louis Kossuth, who first rose to prominence in the diet of 1832, a man of the most fervent patriotism, of transporting eloquence, and burning ambition. He became the founder of political journalism in Hungary.

The futility of all attempts to defeat resistance by the use of force compelled the Vienna government to come to terms. This, however, did not prevent the proceedings of the diet of 1839 from being still more stormy than those of the previous session; the required levy of troops was not passed until a promise was made of political amnesty. To Metternich's great annoyance, the Ultramontanes poured oil upon the fire; for in Hungary the bishops began to refuse mixed marriages without the promise of Catholic education for the offspring. Scarcely had the amnesty freed Kossuth (Fig. 55) from the prison to which his newspaper utterances had consigned him, when he undertook the direction of a new organ, the *Pesti Hirlap*, and founded an industrial protective union for the double purpose of rendering Hungary independent in industrial affairs, and of accustoming his countrymen to orderly agitations by the masses; himself

a vain man, he flattered the national vanity without measure, and was henceforth the most popular man in all Hungary. Entire publicity for the diet, elections every three years with yearly sessions, and those to be held at Pesth; regulation of the affairs of unions; reform of taxation, suppression of feudal service; such were the principal demands in his political programme, which went far beyond that of the constitutional party.



FIG. 55.—Louis Kossuth. From an anonymous lithograph.

But while the Magyars were acquiring these political advantages, the question of language became the apple of discord which was to convert the peaceful intercourse of the mixed peoples in the Carpathian region into deadly hatred. For hardly had the Magyars gained the ascendancy in the political administration, and their language been adopted as that of officials and of public instruction by the law relating to language, passed in 1844, when the reawakened self-consciousness of this hot-blooded, proud, and vain race blazed



itself in the most unsparing and intolerant acts toward all other nationalities within the boundaries of the land. The Germans of Hungary yielded more readily than others to this tyranny, which, on the part of the Rumanians, unaccustomed to subjection, aroused an indiscriminating and deadly hatred toward the lords of the soil, whether Magyars or of other descent. The Saxon Transylvanians, who maintained faithfully their connection with German culture, were proud of their autonomy secured by ancient patents. The Croats, however, offered the most violent resistance to the Magyars' efforts at supremacy. It was the need of defence that first aroused the southern Slavs, the Croats, Servians, and Slovenes, to a feeling of their race-relationship; and Louis Gaj, in Agram, announced the fact that all Slavs of Servian stock, including the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, belong to a newly-discovered 'Illyrian nation.' The *partes amercæ*, the kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia, claimed equality with Hungary. In the diet of 1843 the decree was enacted that no one not master of the Magyar language could occupy any royal office in Croatia, and that the Magyar should be taught in all Croatian schools. The Vienna government looked upon this hatred among nationalities, which promised to paralyze the energies of the opposition, with a sort of satisfied and malicious joy. Unfortunately the Archduke Stephen, from January 13, 1847, the successor of his father Joseph as Palatine of Hungary, was too little of a political character and too desirous of popularity to be able to command a cessation of the struggle. The speech from the throne, composed in the Magyar language, with which the Emperor Ferdinand opened the new diet, and the royal proposal of reforms, were regarded by the more advanced as being concessions only too long delayed. The passionate character of the debates, and the increasingly defiant attitude of Kossuth, were beginning to cause the government serious anxiety; and while it sought to dispel all fears with respect to any contemplated violation of the Hungarian constitution, it was occupied with the plan of dissolving the diet. But for this measure the preparations were not yet completed when the Revolution broke out.

The Czechs in Bohemia, like the southern Slavs, were roused to resistance by attempts to effect the suppression of their language, the only thing which the Jesuits had left them after the battle of the White Hill in 1620. As the object of their national endeavors, the Czechs set before their eyes the autonomy of Bohemia under

Austrian sovereignty; and this measure, clothed with an appearance of liberalism, was not opposed in a hostile manner by the German Bohemians. Even the Bohemian nobility, although in heart German, took an interest in cherishing the Czech language and literature, as possible allies in their desire of forming a strong consolidated Bohemian province. To this object was the National Museum devoted, an institute founded by the two Counts Sternberg; the Bohemian Industrial Union became Czech in its character; a daily press of this nationality was established; and the historian Palacky became the historico-political oracle of the Czechs. The Hannaks of Moravia and the Hungarian Slovaks directed their eyes to these men as their protectors and defenders. The Polish insurrection in Galicia, which broke out in 1846, though it failed at its very commencement on account of the rancor of the Ruthenian peasants against their oppressors, the Polish lords of the soil, threw the entire Slav population of Austria into violent agitation.

The more these national strivings of the widely separated Slavic peoples were developed, the more closely did they approach one another, until they finally flowed together in the common channel of Panslavism. The beginnings of this movement reached back as far as the enthusiasm of Alexander I. of Russia for a Polish constitution, when the term, "Fraternization of the Slavs," was first used. The name itself first appeared, after thirty years, among the 'Illyrians.' Yet in truth there existed among the Slavs more that separated than that united. A consciousness of a common, though politically severed, Slavism had first found a lodgment, through literature, in the minds of the cultivated class, thence penetrating through the body of the people. After Kollár had given the first impulse, works like Vuk Stefanovitch's collection of Servian folksongs, and Schaffarik's investigations, that comprehended the entire antiquity of the Slavs, created a scientific basis for Panslavism. The Slavic propaganda urged its way even among the Bulgarians; in Servia it led, in 1842, to an insurrection, by which, after the expulsion of Milosh Obrenovitch, who governed in the manner of a Turkish pasha, and his house, the son of the famous Kara George, Alexander Kara Georgevitch, was constituted prince.

## CHAPTER XI.

### ENGLAND AND THE 'ENTENTE CORDIALE.'

THE death of King William IV., on June 20, 1837, without issue, placed the crown of the British realm upon the head of his niece Victoria, eighteen years of age. She had lost her father, the duke of Kent, in early childhood, and had been educated in the most careful manner, far from the allurements of court life, by her mother, Victoria of Saxe-Saalfeld, dowager princess Leiningen. Her accession to the throne (PLATE XV.) opened a new era in the history of England.

Not without reason has this been styled by Englishmen the Augustan age of their country, as a time of rich and peaceful development, of growing prosperity, and intellectual activity. It is a period in which the practical realization of the researches in the natural sciences made by Darwin, Faraday, Owen, Brewster, Adams, Huxley, Murchison, and Lyell began so to transform the vital relations of the entire family of man that a new epoch in the historical progress of the race has been introduced. In the year 1838 the first British steamer crossed the Atlantic; the network of railways was drawing its meshes more closely together. From January 1, 1840, began the introduction of the penny-post under the management of Rowland Hill; soon the construction of the first electric telegraph, invented in Germany by Gauss and W. Weber, in America by Morse, in England by Wheatstone and Cooke, abolished all distance from human intercourse. The thought of man freed itself from limits of space, and also from the fetters of ancient conceptions and prejudices.

The reign of Victoria, therein resembling those of her predecessors Elizabeth and Anne, possesses also its own peculiar literature, of a kind different from that which immediately preceded, and if not so abundant in great names, yet excelling it in productiveness and variety. George Grote, profoundly versed in the knowledge of ancient Hellas, and Macaulay (Fig. 56), brilliant as orator and writer, opened new paths in historical composition; Carlyle was the first to



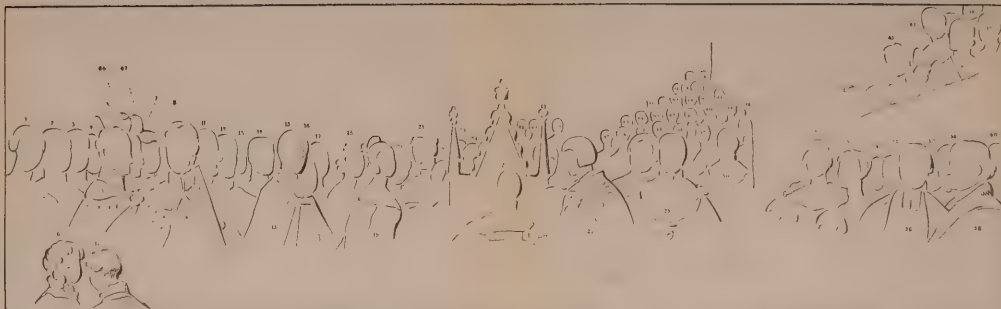




Coronation of Queen Victoria of England

Reduced facsimile of the copper-plate engraving by





- 1 Duchess of Kent.
- 2 Prince George of Cambridge.
- 3 Duc de Nemours.
- 4 Duke of Colberg.
- 5 Duke of Sutherland, with the sword of spiritual justice.
- 6 His son, the Marquis of Stafford, as his father's page.
- 7 Marquis of Westminster, with the sword of secular justice.
- 8 The Lord High Chancellor, Lord Cottenham.
- 9 Duke of Devonshire, bearing the sword of mercy.
- 10 His page, Lord Cheldon.
- 11 Viscount Melbourne, with the sword which he had ransom'd for a hundred shillings.
- 12 The Lord High Constable of England Duke of Wellington.
- 13 Lord Chamberlain, Marquis of Conyngham.
- 14 The Prime Minister, Marquis of Lansdowne.
- 15 Sub-dean of Westminster, Lord John Thynne.
- 16 Earl Marshal of England, Duke of Norfolk.
- 17 Lord Bishop of Durham, Edward Maitby, one of Her Majesty's Shield-Bearers.
- 18 Lady Catharina Lucre Wilhelmina Stanhope, one of Her Majesty's Train-Bearers.
- 19 Duchess of Sutherland.
- 20 Lady Caroline Amalie Gordon Lennox, Train-Bearer.
- 21 Lady Mary Augusta Frederica Grimston, Train-Bearer.
- 22 Lady Frances Elizabeth Cowper, Train-Bearer.
- 23 Lady Anna Wentworth Fitzwilliam.
- 24 Lady Louisa Harriet Jenkinson.
- 25 Queen Victoria.
- 26 Lady Adelaide Paget.
- 27 Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, William Howley.
- 28 Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, George Law, one of Her Majesty's Shield-Bearers.
- 29 Duke of Richmond, bearing the scepter with the dove.
- 30 Representative of the Order of the Garter, Sir William Woods.
- 31 Frances, Lady Barham, Lady in Waiting.
- 32 Louisa Emma, Marchioness of Lansdowne, First Lady in Waiting.
- 33 Maria, Marchioness of Normandy, Lady in Waiting.
- 34 Lord Bishop of London, Charles James Blomfield.
- 35 Anna, Countess of Charlemont, Lady in Waiting.
- 36 Lord Archbishop of York, Edward Harcourt.
- 37 Lord Archbishop of Armagh, Lord John George Beresford.
- 38 Lord Bishop of Winchester, Charles Richard Sumner.
- 39 The Russian Ambassador, Count Pozzo di Borgo.
- 40 Marshal Solt, Ambassador Extraordinary of the King of France.
- 41 Duke of Palmella, Ambassador Extraordinary of the King of Portugal.
- 42 Count Stroganoff, Ambassador Extraordinary of the Czar of Russia.
- 43 The Austrian Ambassador, Prince Esterhazy.
- 44 Duke of Sussex.
- 45 Duke of Cambridge.
- 46 Thomas William King.
- 47 Windsor Herald, Francis Martin.
- 48 Albert William Woods.
- 49 Duchess of Somerset.
- 50 Duchess of Richmond.
- 51 Duchess of Bedford.
- 52 Duchess of Hamilton.
- 53 Duchess of Buccleuch.
- 54 Duchess of Buccleugh.
- 55 Duchess of Northumberland.
- 56 Marchioness of Letham.
- 57 Marchioness of Salisbury.
- 58 Marchioness of Londonderry.
- 59 Dowager Marchioness of Conyngham.
- 60 Marchioness of Aylesbury.
- 61 Countess of Denbigh.
- 62 Countess of Chesterfield.
- 63 Countess of Burlington.
- 64 Countess of Charlesville.
- 65 Countess of Essex.
- 66 Countess of Jersey.
- 67 Countess of Cowper.
- 68 Countess of Wilton.
- 69 Countess of Leicester.
- 70 Viscountess Dillon.
- 71 Viscountess Canning.
- 72 Lady King.
- 73 Lady Rolle.
- 74 Lady Louth.
- 75 Lady Denman.

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Coronation of Queen Victoria of England, in Westminster Abbey, on June 28, 1838.

Reduced facsimile of the copper-plate engraving by C. E. Waggstaff of the original painting by E. C. Parris.



in Westminster Abbey, on June 28, 1838.

Wagstaff of the original painting by E. C. Harris



make known to his fellow countrymen the classic poems of Germany, and John Stuart Mill continued the labors of Adam Smith. The art of the poet was represented by Tennyson. No field was more richly cultivated than romance, in which not only men like Dickens, Bulwer, and Thackeray were splendidly distinguished, but women also were successful in their endeavors.

To Victoria's side the solicitude of her uncle, Leopold of Belgium, had sent Stockmar, the ancient guardian genius of the Coburg family.



FIG. 56. — Macaulay. Reduced facsimile of the original at the request of F. K. (1807-1877); original painting by E. H. Eddis.

Lord Melbourne also, the premier of the Whig ministry, was her fatherly counsellor; but that ministry retired on May 6, 1839. Peel, who was summoned to form a new cabinet, insisted upon the dismissal of the two principal ladies of the queen's court, because they belonged to Whig families, and this led at once to the return of the dismissed ministers; for, young as the sovereign was, she contested with great energy the right of politics to prescribe to her the friends whom she should trust. For this the Tories took a revenge that was ignoble, but the more sensibly felt, when the heart of the



queen, in accord with the wish of her uncle, chose her cousin Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg (Fig. 57) for her consort. The wedding took place on February 10, 1840. Parliament reduced the yearly allowance demanded for the Prince, and granted him a lower rank than that desired by Victoria. Met by the haughty prejudices of the English aristocracy, he was never really at home among them, nor did he ever become popular in his new country. And yet no other man could have filled this difficult place so worthily as he. The court, so long disgraced by contempt of honor and morality, was now the far-shining example of every domestic virtue, and of a beneficent influence upon the dissoluteness of high society. Prince Albert was not merely an exemplary husband, father, and master of a family (PLATE XVI.). He was at the same time, without ever overstepping constitutional bounds, the queen's private secretary and permanent minister, as well as the promoter of every useful and philanthropic undertaking. Regardless of the grievance he had suffered, he made it his first object to mediate the approximation of his consort to the Tories, in order thus to lift the crown to a position above parties.

Soon the Melbourne ministry was again obliged to yield; and now Peel (PLATE XVII.), who for five years had labored indefatigably to build up afresh a strong conservative party, came forward at the head of a new cabinet (September 6, 1841). The prime minister was not unaware of the great difficulties to be encountered on assuming office; but he derived, from his eloquence and faithfulness to duty, courage to overcome them, and thus it befell that his administration was not less distinguished by profitable innovations than had been those of his predecessors. The far-reaching agitation with regard to the condition of the laboring-class caused great anxieties. This class considered themselves deceived when the parliamentary reform of 1832 did not bring the expected relief to their wretchedness, and when Lord John Russell's declaration that "with the law of 1832 parliamentary reform is finally ended," — which earned him the nickname of 'Finality John,' — taught them that in the future neither from Whigs nor Tories had they anything to expect in that direction. A small minority, the famed 'pioneers of Rochdale,' sought in the principle of association a remedy for their ills. The great majority, under the lead of the Irish lawyer Feargus O'Connor, and in connection with the Radicals, formed a political party whose 'people's charter' contained the six demands, — universal manhood suffrage,



The British Royal Family—Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, and their children—  
in the Terrace at Windsor Castle.

From the original by Alfred Gurney, and printed by J. N. Widdowson, 1860.

Copyright 1860, by Alfred Gurney.



PLATE XVII.



SIR ROBERT PEELE.

From the engraving by Raphael Ward; original painting by H. W. Fisker, all  
(1782-1875).







FIG. 57. — Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg. From the autograph of F. E. 1841.  
original painting by W. C. Ross (1791-1860)

annual parliaments, secret ballots, eligibility to parliament without property qualification, payment of members of parliament, and equal electoral districts. Thus arose Chartism, which for a decade caused anxiety to England. When the government took energetic measures against acts of violence by laborers, against meetings at night in which open rebellion was preached, the great national association of Chartists did indeed declare only peaceful and legal means to be admissible; but the 'physical-force men' soon regained the ascendancy. That, notwithstanding this, the Chartist movement succumbed, the country owed pre-eminently to the manly and decided resistance offered by the middle class.

But the economical situation of the middle class as well as of the lower was no longer compatible with a condition that reposed upon the favor and preference of the upper strata of civil society. From the manufacturing cities recently endowed with the elective franchise, from Manchester especially, a free-trade agitation arose, of which the chief apostle was Richard Cobden, and which was crowned with the most complete success. In this highly momentous question, again it was Peel upon whose clearness and insight the confidence of the country rested, and who splendidly justified that confidence. Penetrated with the conviction that only cheapness and excellence of merchandise could conquer and maintain the markets of the world, and that the proper method of favoring commerce and manufactures consisted in removing oppressive and paralyzing imposts, he broke with the previous system of protection, and thus led England into a new path of financial and commercial policy. To cover the deficit which had become chronic, he imposed an income-tax of three per cent upon every income of more than £150, provisionally for three years: the surplus was designed to facilitate an ample reduction of the taxes resting on commerce and manufactures. A new tariff released 750 articles from duty, and substituted for the prohibitive rates on fabrics an average impost of twenty per cent. In 1844 Peel was enabled to announce a surplus of more than £4,000,000, which made possible further tariff reductions.

The monopoly of agriculture created by the Corn-Law of 1815 alone remained untouched hitherto, although its injustice and injurious effects were the more glaringly evident the more the number of those favored by it decreased. For during the wars on the Continent, the small owners of land were completely ruined. The number of landed proprietors in England and Wales diminished from

160,000 at the end of the seventeenth century to 32,000 in 1816, and 7200 in 1831. The smaller proprietors, under the dominion of the corn-laws, had sunk to be renters or day-laborers, or had drifted to the cities. The dearthness caused by a series of bad harvests aided in showing the absurdity of the tariff system, and supported most effectually the agitation in favor of the abolition of the corn imposts, which the Anti-Corn-Law League, established at Manchester in 1838, made its mission. It was again the Tory Peel who, in avowed opposition to his party, laid the axe at the root of this monopoly. He contemplated, however, opening the way judiciously and step by step. In this view he obtained the consent of parliament to a sliding scale of imposts depending on the price of corn. That this was simply a transitional measure Peel was fully conscious. The final decision was hastened by the calamity that occurred in connection with the dearth of 1845 and the fearful potato disease. Ireland lost within two years, by famine and emigration, the fourth part of her population. In Great Britain, also, the suffering was extremely great. Peel proposed the suspension of the corn-laws as a necessity from which there was no escape; but he was sufficiently honorable to insist publicly, that once suspended those laws could not be re-established; and since he did not find his colleagues in full accord with him, he gave in his resignation on December 9, 1845. After Russell had become convinced of the impossibility of forming a Liberal cabinet, the former ministry returned to office, Peel with the consciousness that to remove the duty on corn would certainly draw after it the breaking up of the party of which he was the leader, and that he would anew be exposed to the reproach of desertion and treachery, but also with the certainty that the country had need of him, and that the vast majority of the people confidently looked to him to perform an imperative duty. After twelve days of hot debate the Corn Bill passed the Lower House, February, 1846. The Upper House appeared ready to oppose, but yielded after Wellington's declaration that it would be better to accept the bill than to have it forced upon them by the queen and the Lower House.

Of the gloomy prophecies uttered by the defeated party, the very opposite was fulfilled. English merchandise was not driven out by foreign competition, but English markets were extended over the whole earth. There resulted not the ruin of agriculture, but the improvement of it by scientific management and rational economy; not the depreciation of land in value, but its increase; not the un-



chaining of the wild waves of democracy, but the protection of England against the convulsions of the Revolution, which were already beginning to rage all over the Continent.

Ireland, now as formerly perishing in poverty, misery, and crime, was about to experience in another form the forethought of Peel. O'Connell, deified by his countrypeople, had resumed former agitation for the repeal of the Union with augmented passion. At Tara, near the coronation-stone of the ancient kings, 250,000 Irishmen came together. O'Connell convoked at Clontarf, near Dublin, a still larger meeting, one composed of a million of people. But when the government, instead of being intimidated, prohibited the assembly, he prudently withdrew. This mildness disturbed the faith of the Irish in their Messiah. Henceforth the cause of the repeal declined. The young Hotspurs, Smith O'Brien, Meagher, Mitchel, broke formally with O'Connell, and formed 'Young Ireland,' a republican revolutionary party. The aged agitator died at Geneva on May 15, 1847, while on a journey to Rome. This moment of most violent commotion Peel chose for extending the hand of conciliation to the Irish. He proposed to increase the appropriation made by the state for the support of the seminary of Catholic priests at Maynooth; but Whigs and Radicals were obliged to aid him in overcoming the storm of High Church bigotry which arose in the ranks of his own party against this godless measure. The full hatred of the Tories smote the deserter. When he demanded extraordinary powers to cope with the prevalence of crime in Ireland, a coalition against him of Protectionists and Whigs compelled him to retire on June 29, 1846. "I leave behind me," he said in his farewell discourse, "a name cursed by monopolists; but my name will be repeated with good will in the dwellings of those whose lot in this world is labor, and who eat their bread in the sweat of their brow. These will remember me as often as they renew their exhausted strength with generous and untaxed food." As he returned from Westminster Hall, a dense multitude awaited the fallen minister, and with uncovered heads reverently greeted him.

If the prodigious development of industry and commerce constituted the principal incitement to these reforms at home, it was also the guiding-star for England's foreign policy. The maintenance of her position in the world, and her colonial policy, aided in keeping open the markets of the world for the products of English factories. For their sake the mistress of the seas, so well prepared for war, took

pains to maintain the peace of the world: though when the right of the weaker stood in the way of British gain, she trod it shamelessly under foot. Of this China had experience. Commerce with that country, after it was set free in 1834, gained an extraordinary expansion; but at the same time smuggling of the opium cultivated in India greatly increased. Its introduction was rigorously prohibited by Chinese law. After long and fruitless complaints, the energetic Mandarin Lin finally ordered the entire stock of opium in the factory at Canton, valued at \$10,000,000, to be thrown into the sea. The war with which the British replied to this act of force was, of course, successful, but brought neither honor nor fame. At the peace of September 25, 1842, China ceded to Great Britain the island of Hong Kong, and opened five ports,—a concession extended in 1844 to the United States and France. The prohibition of the importation of opium remained, and likewise smuggling, which rendered the prohibition ineffectual. Thus began the introduction of this Eastern power into the general intercourse of nations, from which it had been excluded for thousands of years. Far more moderate was the bearing of England toward the United States, with whom she had a controversy regarding boundaries. The treaty of June 15, 1846, adjusted it in such a manner that the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude was established as the boundary, and the territory south of that line was united to the Republic under the name of Oregon.

To a fundamental change in the English colonial policy, especially to the giving up of the gainful system of earlier times, the situation of Canada gave the impulse, whose defection and adherence to the great neighboring republic were otherwise to be apprehended. The mother country saw herself compelled to concede the union of Upper and Lower Canada and the legislative independence of the colony. The British colonial territory received very important enlargements. Since 1839 New Zealand had been colonized and permanently occupied; Kaffraria was subjugated in 1848; the Danish possessions on the Gold Coast were purchased, as had been already Tranquebar, and the other small Danish settlements in the East Indies. This latter region formed the most valuable part beyond all comparison of the British colonial possessions; but that it could be maintained only by force of arms the East India Company sufficiently often experienced. In 1830 English rule was established over the whole of India; Malacca had been previously acquired; Singapore was added,

and soon became the most important emporium in southeastern Asia ; and Burma was forced to the surrender of Arakan. But "a commercial company which supported powerful armies, and sold tea at retail, carrying the sword in one hand and the ledger in the other, was an open contradiction." The increase of power brought it no financial benefit ; money perplexities did not cease. Lord Bentinck's peaceful administration had in view only the suppression of abuses, the prohibition of the burning of widows, and the naturalization in the country of European science, and means of intercommunication. But there was a change under Lord Auckland, his successor. Even during the period of the Napoleonic wars, the English became suspicious of the Russians for having established themselves in the Caucasus, the first stage in the advance toward the interior of Asia. In connection with this advance, Persia acquired an importance wholly new, especially after the young Shah Mohammed Mirza, compelled at the peace of Turkmanchah, March 6, 1828, to surrender to Russia Erivan and the entire Ararat range, threw himself absolutely into the arms of that power, and at Russia's instigation sought to seize also upon Herat and Kandahar. From that time on, the highlands of Iran continued to be the scene of conflict upon which British and Russian influence were contending with each other. A Russian expedition under Perovski, in 1839, sought to find the way thither by way of Khiva, but it was destroyed on the march by want and by snow-storms. The English threat of hostilities forced the shah to give up the investment of Herat, and to resign all his conquests. But in order to bolt more strongly the northwestern gate of Hindustan, Lord Auckland began a war against Dost Mohammed, amir of Kabul, who was friendly to Russia, took him prisoner, and reinstated upon the throne of Kabul Shujah, the rightful shah, whom the former had expelled. But a culpable imprudence suddenly converted this success into a misfortune of the greatest severity. Hemmed in by a general rising of the Afghans, cut off from Hindustan, enfeebled by cold and hunger, the entire English army, together with the baggage, the women and children, 12,000 in all, was utterly destroyed in November, 1841. A single man escaped alive. This wretched experience deprived Lord Ellenborough, Auckland's successor, of all desire to conquer Afghanistan ; and after sending a successful punitive expedition thither he restored Dost Mohammed. He confined himself subsequently to securing the possession of the Panjab by the victories of Sir Charles Napier and







Victoria, Queen of England.

From the steel engraving by Tavernier (born 1787) : original painting by Partridge.  
(Versailles, Historical Gallery.)

*History of All Nations, Vol. XVIII., page 279.*

Hugh Gough in 1845. A fresh rising of the Sikhs, in 1848, led to the annexation of Lahore.

As a matter of course, Turkey still remained the principal field on which Russia and Great Britain met in rivalry. The latter country obtained from the Sublime Porte the concession of a closer connection with India by the overland post, via Suez; the former established itself more and more firmly in the Danubian principalities. Reshid Pasha, who became minister of foreign affairs in 1838, took pleasure in the support given by the English ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning (Lord Redcliffe), to the reforms ostentatiously but uselessly announced in the hatti-sherif of Gülhané (November 3, 1838), while Buteneff, the Russian envoy, found his ally in the fanatical prejudices of Islamism against all reforms.

The dissolution of the traditional alliance of England with Austria suggested in London the thought that the natural ally of the Protestant insular kingdom is the first Protestant power on the Continent,—viz., Prussia. Stockmar succeeded in causing that King Frederick William IV. should be invited to act as godfather to the infant Prince of Wales; and notwithstanding all the opposing intrigues of Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Paris, the king appeared in person at the baptism in Windsor. That the high expectations connected with this approximation were not fulfilled was occasioned naturally by the fact of the closer connection forming between England and France, and by the league thus established of the constitutional western powers in opposition to the league of the absolute eastern powers. The visits which Queen Victoria (PLATE XVIII.), in company with her consort, paid in 1843 and 1844 to King Louis Philippe at Eu, and the returning of these visits at Windsor, sealed the *Entente cordiale* of the two reigning houses, and freed the house of Orleans from the ban which had hitherto excluded it from the company of the great sovereign families. Too late the czar recognized the mistake which he had committed. In order to retrieve this error, he suddenly appeared, with the effort at effect peculiar to him, at London, in June, 1844, almost without previous announcement. His purpose was not merely to separate English statesmen from the friendship with France, but also to bring about an understanding in regard to the partition of Turkey. But all his histrionic arts were ineffectual. Peel declared to him roundly that his chief aim was, that, after the death of Louis Philippe, the French throne should pass peaceably to the nearest legitimate heir.

However, this personal friendship of the reigning houses of England and France did not comprehend agreement in the policy of their respective states. It was not simply the diversity of interests which led to a rupture, but rather the untamable eagerness to grasp and to encroach by which the monarchy of July, like all preceding governments of France, was possessed. But wherever this dynasty stretched forth its covetous arm, there it encountered England's emphatic 'Back!' This was the case with regard to the attempt to render again available a protectorate of France over the Christian Maronites of Lebanon, and also with the French plan of forming a customs-union with Belgium and Switzerland after the alluring example of Germany. The arbitrary aggressions of the French in Tahiti, in 1842, were abruptly checked by an emphatic English protest. Taken in connection with these occurrences, the appointment of Prince de Joinville, who had published a demand for rivalling the English in building ships of war, to the command of a squadron despatched against Morocco, and the extension of the French sway in Algeria, acquired for England an entirely new significance.

The prolonged hesitation of France as to the use to be made of her Algerian conquest was finally solved by the determination to seize upon the whole territory. The new Governor-General Bugeaud had spent years of military apprenticeship in warring with the Spanish guerillas, and was now supported by a number of officers already trained in the African wars: as Baraguay d'Hilliers, Bosquet, Canrobert, MacMahon, Randon, Vaillant, Bedeau, Cavaignac, Changarnier, and Lamoricière.

To Bugeaud his troops were indebted for facility in rapid movement and for the spirit of daring initiative, and in him Abd-el-Kader found his master. The surprise of his chief encampment, Smalah, on May 16, 1843, by the young Duke d'Aumale (Fig. 58) threw him, with his few remaining men, into the territory of Morocco. There the fanaticism of the population rendered it easy for him to sweep along into the war the feeble government of the Sultan Abdurrahman. But on the river Isly the fivefold more numerous host of the enemy was totally routed by Bugeaud, August 14, 1844 (PLATE XIX.). On the seacoast Prince Joinville reduced Tangier by bombardment, and took Mogador by storm. The more bitter for French pride was it, consequently, when, in presence of Lord Aberdeen's categorical declaration, that all permanent occupation of any point in Morocco would necessarily constitute a *casus belli*, the





Engraving from Horace Vernet's picture of the Battle of Tewkesbury.

From the engraving by Paul Girardet. (Verdun Historical Society.)

Engraving of the Battle of Tewkesbury, 1471.







French were obliged to content themselves with an unimportant rectification of frontier, and with the confinement of Abd-el-Kader. Bugeaud now began to devote himself to the peaceful organization of the country, yet he could not resist the temptation of gathering fresh laurels by subjugating the mountain tribes of Berbers. Colonel Pélissier destroyed the entire tribe of the Uled-Rhia, numbering 800 souls, in their place of refuge, the cave of Darah, by fire and smoke. The severe condemnation of this deed, expressed by Palmerston before his electors at Tiverton, showed both horror at the inhumanity and anger on account of the progress of the French in Algeria.

Notwithstanding all this, Lord Aberdeen continued to be honestly disposed to maintain harmony between the two states on the same footing as the personal good will of their sovereigns. That the one and the other were alike destroyed, was the fault of the dishonorable game played by the French government in Spain, the ancient theatre of Anglo-French policy.

After intervention was denied to Louis Philippe, he pursued in Spain a policy continually more deceitful. Queen Isabella and her mother were virtually the prisoners of their radical ministers, who, in consequence of military risings and their incompetency to govern, followed one another with astonishing rapidity. Meanwhile the civil war was dragging on, no result being reached, accompanied with robberies and murders rather than battles, more dangerous to the peaceful inhabitants than to the armies, — an unprecedented state of things, which only a country at so low a state of cultivation could possibly have endured for years. It pertained to the utter incapacity of Don Carlos and the court vermin about him, that from this disordered condition no advantage was derived to his cause. These ‘defenders of the throne and the altar’ knew nothing but to terrify the nation by their outrages. Mina, in revenge for the cruel manner in which Cabrera conducted the war, ordered the latter’s mother to be shot, whereupon Cabrera, furious with rage, retaliated by executing the same sentence upon twenty-four women, and gave command to shoot all prisoners. It was not the Christinos who overpowered Don Carlos; the cause of the Pretender broke down of itself. Wearied with sacrificing himself for a fool, Maroto, the ablest of his army officers, went over with his troops to the Christinos in consequence of a treaty made with General Espartero (Fig. 59) at Vergara on August 31, 1839. The prince found himself compelled by

this defection to cross into France, where he was kept under surveillance at Bourges. After Cabrera also had been forced over the border in July, 1840, the barbarous civil war was finally extinguished. Still, the country continued to be the prey of parties greedy of power; and behind the struggle of parties there remained the constant rivalry between France and England. When Espartero, raised to the rank of duke of Vittoria, mediocre both as politician and commander, threw his sword into the balance of the Progressists, who were inclined to England, the Regent Maria Christina, who, in concert with the Moderados, leaned upon France, was obliged to abdicate, on



FIG. 50. General Espartero. From the lithograph by A. Legend.

October 12, 1840, and leave the country. Espartero was appointed regent. In 1843 he was compelled to flee to England, in consequence of a coalition between the two extreme parties under Prim and Narvaez. Queen Isabella, hardly thirteen years of age, was declared to have attained her majority. Narvaez rid himself of his allies, the Exaltados, and by means of the reformed constitution on May 25, 1845, succeeded in establishing a government of such strength that, with a few brief interruptions, it continued till the commencement of 1851. The queen-mother returned, and with her, stronger than before, the influence of France.

With relations thus involved, the marriage of the young queen



was not regarded as a matter connected with the welfare of the state, much less of personal choice and affection, but as a party intrigue, and, in truth, one of the vilest description. Louis Philippe, who adopted altogether the methods of domestic policy practised by the old Bourbons, would have been delighted to repeat the work of Louis XIV. by the double marriage of the queen and her younger sister Louisa with his two sons, Aumale and Montpensier. Furthermore, Maria Christina, during her exile, had encouraged the fulfilment of this wish, but, after her return to Spain, labored in behalf of her brother, the count of Trapani. Between the courts of Paris and St. James, connected by the Coburg relationship, there was at first so little rivalry that Queen Victoria and Lord Aberdeen, on the visit at Eu, declared themselves, certainly too rashly, in favor of the principle arbitrarily established, that Isabella must marry no one but a Bourbon, with the exclusion, however, of the sons of Louis Philippe. Beside them and Trapani there were of the Bourbons only the cousins of Isabella, Francisco de Paula, duke of Cadiz, and Enrique, duke of Seville. The latter was England's candidate, but was disliked by Maria Christina on account of his connection with the Progressists. Guizot, however, was able to twist and turn in such a manner that finally no other candidate was left than Cadiz, although he and every one else knew that Isabella's marriage to him would necessarily remain childless. In this way the Spanish throne, by the marriage of Montpensier with Isabella's sister, would fall to the house of Orleans. Not the less, on Victoria's second visit at Eu, did Louis Philippe give an express promise that nothing should be done in regard to this latter marriage until the queen was married and had children. By this promise Aberdeen was completely pacified; he also prudently avoided the snare set for him by Maria Christina to put up as the suitor favored by England Prince Leopold of Coburg, whose brother Ferdinand had become the consort of Maria da Gloria, queen of Portugal. A letter written by the English envoy at Madrid, H. Bulwer, who advocated the course, was promptly disavowed. Guizot, notwithstanding the disavowal, immediately seized upon the indiscretion of Bulwer for the purpose of regarding himself as released from all previous engagements in the matter. Isabella's simultaneous marriage with the eunuch whom she detested, and that of the Infanta with Montpensier, would complete the victory of French cunning; and the opposition to these intrigues made at first by Louis Philippe's sentiment of honor and justice con-

tinued but a short time. On October 10 the nuptial ceremonies of both were performed; but—was it contempt or blindness?—in order not to violate the promise given to England, not at the same time, but one after the other.

With inconceivable folly the cabinet of the Tuileries was delighted to have deceived the only friend whom it possessed. “The Spanish double marriage,” boastfully remarked Guizot to the chambers, “is the only great European transaction which, since 1830, we have accomplished in a manner absolutely independent.” But the game of deceit was to bear bitter fruits for those who had played it. The new king, Francisco de Paula, after a few weeks, was driven from the side of his consort. Montpensier obtained not the least influence in Spain; and Isabella’s marriage did not remain childless. But in England the impression was one of extreme indignation. Palmerston styled the conduct of Louis Philippe the first example of a king of France having broken his word; and public opinion and the statesmen of the whole world in this coincided with him. The *entente cordiale* was irrevocably gone. Wherever subsequently the two powers encountered each other, the destruction of the old friendship made itself felt. Thus it happened, when in Portugal the attempt of Marshal Saldanha to establish a military dictatorship occasioned a revolution. The suppression of this was the business of the quadruple alliance; but the evident contempt for France with which Palmerston effected it was the unmistakable reply to the Spanish marriages.

Louis Philippe, abandoned in disgust by England, was now compelled to follow again, always with reluctance, the steep path which led to reliance upon the Eastern powers. Already, on the day after the double marriage, Guizot disclosed to the representatives of Prussia and Austria the need felt by France of seeking a support in the great courts of Germany, and invited them to a common understanding with regard to the conservative interests menaced by Palmerston. Thus these courts found themselves for the first time relieved from the constraint which the agreement of the western powers had hitherto imposed on them. The first sacrifice offered to this change of fortune was the republic of Cracow. In the year 1836 the protest of France had caused the retirement of the armies advancing to quell the disturbances that had broken out in that country. Cracow became afterwards the centre of preparations for a general rising of the Poles. But when Mieroslawski hastened to lead a revolt in

Polish Prussia, he was arrested on February 12, 1846, upon crossing the Prussian frontier; the projected surprise of the fortresses of Posen and Thorn completely miscarried; in Cracow, where Tyssowski was in command as dictator, Colonel Benedek promptly put down the rising; in Galicia, where it was undertaken foolishly, it failed at the very outset in consequence of the hatred of the peasants toward their tyrants, the lords of the soil. Whereupon Russia, Prussia, and Austria subscribed at Berlin, on April 15, the death-sentence of Cracow; but, from fear of Palmerston, it was kept secret at first. Scarcely, however, had the Madrid marriage festivities ended, when Austria announced the annexation of the free state as completed, on November 6. It is true that Guizot took advantage of this occasion as a pretext for approaching again the friend whom he had injured, but he was repulsed beyond hope of reconciliation. In order to keep up appearances, he, like the former, also issued a protest: less could not have been done; they were only words, which could harm no one.

How truly Louis Philippe followed in the wake of Metternich was first made fully apparent in the affairs of Switzerland and Italy.

The Swiss Confederation, as re-established by the Congress of Vienna, represented, as in early times, only a loosely cohering league of the cantons without consentaneous regulations, whose common organ, the diet, meeting alternately in one of three principal towns, Bern, Zurich, and Lucerne, was a rival, as regards insignificance, of the German Confederate diet. In the cantons a patrician order watched over the separate sovereignties, and the abuses of their authority, under the protection of which priestly influence prevailed. In Freiburg the Jesuits had insinuated themselves, and thence carried on a zealous propagandism. Under the effect of the Revolution of July this oligarchical government broke down everywhere before the urgent demand for reforms suited to the times and for a closer union. But when the diet rejected the proposal for a revision of the Confederate constitution, the Liberal cantons of Bern, Aargau, Thurgau, St. Gall, Solothurn, Zurich, and Lucerne, in order to effect this object, established the 'Treaty of Seven' (*Siebener-konkordat*), on March 17, 1832, in opposition to which the old cantons, together with Valais and Neuchâtel, set up the Sarner league. The dissolution of the latter was declared by the diet in consequence of bloody scenes occasioned by it in different towns.

That the political dispute was not thereby put to rest was mainly the fault of the Church faction which was associated with this contention: on the one hand, was the anti-clerical character of the Liberals: on the other, were the intrigues of the Ultramontanists, whom some of the Protestants supported from political dislike of the Liberals. While the seven cantons were endeavoring by the Baden Concordat of 1834 to meet the efforts of the Roman Curia to obtain the supremacy, the political and church conservatives in Zurich took occasion of the invitation given to David Strauss, author of the "Life of Jesus," to overthrow by the so-called "Zurich Riot" of September 6, 1839, the Radical government. Consequently Zurich withdrew from the *Siebenner-konkordat*. In Lucerne the elections of 1841 brought the Conservatives into power; in Aargau they sought it by means of a sedition, but were conquered, and the government did not fail to improve the opportunity of suppressing the eight rich cloisters, which had served as headquarters and depots of arms. In Valais, on the contrary, the revolution triumphed in favor of the Jesuits, who had become established there not long before. The city council of Lucerne chose this time to invite the Jesuits in order to commit the school system to them. The Radicals prepared to use force, but the attempted surprise of Lucerne failed of success. The escape by flight of Dr. Steiger, the leader of the Lucerne Radicals, who had been sentenced to death, and the murder of the rich peasant Leu, which was imputed to the Radicals, brought the hot passions of partisans to the boiling point. The seven Catholic cantons, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Zug, Freiburg, and Valais, formed in September a separate league (*Sonderbund*); but after the efforts of the Radicals had succeeded in obtaining a majority in the diet, it declared, on July 20, 1847, the dissolution of the *Sonderbund*, and on September 3, the expulsion of the Jesuits.

This course of events Metternich observed with increasing dissatisfaction. The promise of French neutrality was easily secured. Arms were despatched secretly to the *Sonderbund*, and an Austrian army corps was brought together at Vorarlberg. The chiefs of the *Sonderbund*, Siegwart-Müller, mayor of Lucerne, General Salis-Soglio and others, were fully confident of victory. But the Austrian invasion upon which they counted did not occur: and a threatening move from the four Continental powers met with a firm repulse on the part of Bern, one of the governing cantons. For the fact that England kept aloof deprived this joint action of its efficacy, although



Palmerston did nothing further than to protract diplomatic negotiations in order to prevent opportune interference. Thereby he gained time for the Confederation by swift action to establish order in its own household. On October 24, the diet resolved to raise a Confederate army of 30,000 men under General Dufour; the half-concessions now proffered by the affrighted Sonderbund were rejected as insufficient, and execution was decreed against the disobedient. On November 14 the troops of the Confederation took Freiburg. Ten days later, after engagements at Gisikon and Rothkreuz, the capture of Lucerne put an end to the war. The Sonderbund was compelled to dissolve, and radical governments were introduced in the seven cantons; the Jesuits were expelled from every part of Switzerland. Under the shield of the revolutionary movement general throughout Europe, the Confederation completed its transformation from a lax league of states, with a mixture of oligarchical and democratic elements, into a purely democratic federal state, on September 12, 1848. Bern became the permanent seat of the Federal Assembly, that took the place of the diet, and is composed of the Council of the States and of the National Council; the Federal Council, which is chosen by the Assembly, has the chief direction of affairs. Neuchâtel shook off the protectorate of the king of Prussia.

The Spanish marriage brought about the marvel that France and Austria, even in Italy, the theatre where for centuries they had encountered each other only as rivals, joined hands in peaceful unison. In the main, after the suppression of the movement of 1831, the former condition had returned in that country. In the States of the Church, under the rule of Lambruschini, the cardinal secretary of state, there was senseless opposition to every innovation; and there was daring agitation by the Jesuits, who, in 1846, took away the Jewish boy Mortara from his parents, and, notwithstanding their protestations, dared, under a futile pretext, to have him educated a Catholic. In Tuscany a mild patriarchal system prevailed, and literature was fostered. In Naples, under King Ferdinand II. (after November 8, 1830), there was the utmost possible exclusion of the outer world, and opposition to Austrian influence. A fresher life was awakening only in Sardinia, under Charles Albert of Carignan (Fig. 60), who came to the throne on April 27, 1831. He introduced many useful reforms, but by them and by his independent bearing aroused the distrust of Austria. On the other hand, a highly momentous transformation had been taking place in the

bosom of the liberal and national party. It declared itself free from the old method of conspiracy. Solitary, foolhardy attempts devised



FIG. 60. — Charles Albert, king of Sardinia. Reduced facsimile of the original painting by Marghinotti di Camora.

by Mazzini in his safe asylum at London, as the landing of the brothers Bandiera, sons of an Austrian admiral, on the Calabrian coast, in 1844, and in 1845 the rising at Rimini, cruelly put down

by the papal government, only furnished martyrs, and urged on princelings the more eagerly to take shelter under the wings of the double eagle of Austria. In the noblest and best souls the conviction made its way, and found its expression in literature, that improvement could proceed only from within; that the Italians, in order to become a nation, must put off the defects which centuries of foreign rule and of priestly oppression had ingrafted upon their character,—must exchange moral sluggishness for manly earnestness, the imitation of French frivolity for emulous endeavor to attain noble and worthy ends. Particularly in Turin was there gathered together a splendid circle of writers, and one pervaded by national enthusiasm. The name of Dante became the symbol of the unity of Italy. Historians and poets vied with one another in striving for the same objects, not merely to promote knowledge and to serve art, but also to guard and to cherish the flame of devotion to the country, so that step by step it might pervade all Italy. A principal means of scattering everywhere the seeds of inward regeneration was the congress of learned men held annually from the year 1839.

It is worthy of remark that the national party laid aside its enmity against the pope and the church. In Vincenzo Gioberti, the former Mazzinist, there appeared a real prophet of the 'Neo-Guellism,' which turned to the church as the only power of national importance, in order to unite by means of it, by the alliance between church and nationality, between religion and liberty, all parties in the one strenuous effort for the renovation of Italy. His book that appeared in 1843, "On the Moral and Civil Primacy of the Italians," announced this principle, with a confidence that was in truth utterly destitute of evidence, but for that reason none the less effective on the minds of his fellow-countrymen: "Italy is the head country of Europe; the pope should be supreme religious and civil judge over the human family; Rome, as the capital of the Catholic faith, is at the same time the civil and spiritual metropolis of the entire civilized world; the princes of Italy, under the presidency of the pope, must form a confederation; Piedmont is called to become the guardian of the pope, of the unity, freedom, and independence of Italy." All cultivated persons, even the clergy and princes, were intoxicated with the summons addressed to their nation. The next year there followed Cesare Balbo's "Hopes of Italy," which demanded, as the fundamental proviso for the accomplishment of Gioberti's thought, the suppression of foreign rule; and when the

exasperated Jesuits fell upon the author, he hurled in their faces his "Modern Jesuits," in which he made them accountable for the moral deterioration of the Italian people.

And, behold! the pope announced by Gioberti appeared to be found, when, after the death of Gregory XVI. (June 1, 1846), the choice of his successor, completed with unprecedented rapidity, fell, not as was anticipated, upon the candidate of the reactionary Sanfedists and of Austria, Lambruschini, but upon Count Mastai Ferretti, the candidate of France, fifty-four years old, and bishop of Imola, who assumed the name of Pius IX. The new pope possessed a high degree of theological ignorance, and a still greater measure of vanity, but was personally amiable, and thoroughly persuaded of the necessity of discarding the system of his predecessor. His first decrees—a general amnesty; steps preparing the way for the introduction of a laical government; abolishment of ecclesiastical courts; a municipal constitution for the city of Rome; a state council, with Cardinal Antonelli as president, for the purpose of regulating the finances; mitigation of the censorship, and, moreover, the creation of a guard of citizens,—these were measures so unheard of on the part of a pope, that upon their author was lavished throughout the whole world, by Protestants scarcely less than by Catholics, an abundant enthusiasm. This sentiment was not thought to be contradicted either by the first encyclical of the new pope (November 8, 1846), which, altogether in the tone of his predecessors, condemned every advance as a deceitful weapon of the devil, and all who favored it as evil-minded leaders and seditious persons, as foes of society and of religion, or by his allocution of December 14, 1847, which solemnly protested against the inferences that might be drawn from his political to his ecclesiastical position. All this was regarded as only the customary, but meaningless, discourse of the Curia.

More than anything besides, these first liberal measures of Pope Pius IX. (Fig. 61) contributed to let loose in Italy and far beyond her boundaries the movement already begun. It was in vain that Louis Philippe, while still playing for effect the game of promoter of liberalism, and sending arms for the citizen guard of Rome, in pursuance of his new system instructed Count Rossi, his envoy at Rome, to prevent the pope doing anything that should be displeasing to Austria, and engaged to withhold him, as well as the king of Sardinia, from making additional reforms. Charles Albert was plainly



the first among Italian princes who was swept away by the rising flood. Long had opposing impressions been contending in his soul, — the evil experiences of his youthful years with the traditions of his house, his mystic religiousness with the influence of the liberal circles of Turin, and his longing to become the deliverer of his fatherland. But the rough arrogance with which he was treated by the court of Vienna pressed upon him, while still hesitating, the rôle of a representative of national interests. To the anxious question of



FIG. 61. — Pope Pius IX. From the steel engraving by Metzmacher, 1860; original sketch by the same.

his minister, what would he do if Austria, instead of being favorable to him, should be against him, he made the famous answer: "If Piedmont loses Austria, she will gain Italy; and then Italy will act for herself (*l'Italia farà da se!*)" He was not inclined to trust to the pope the rôle of standard-bearer of the national movement. Metternich made another effort to intimidate both; but his attempt to garrison the city of Ferrara only brought about a violent explosion of national feeling. The pope, whose inclinations, like those of a





Lord Palmerston.

Reduced facsimile of the engraving by Samuel Cousins (born 1801) ; original painting by J. Partridge (1790-1872).

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majority of the cardinals, were anti-Austrian, urged forward by the momentum of the national agitation, issued his solemn protest against a protection that was not desired, and Charles Albert spoke in no uncertain tones. On October 30 there appeared in Turin the proclamation of a series of reforms. All Piedmont was entranced in enthusiastic delight.

Thence the movement carried along with it the other governments. The grand duke of Tuscany granted a citizen garrison and other reforms to a stormy petition from Leghorn. Nothing, indeed, came of the Italian Customs-Union, for the establishment of which the pope, Sardinia, and Tuscany had concluded a preliminary treaty; but the project had its moral effect. On August 2 Metternich issued to the other powers a protestation with regard to the realizing of the plan of Italian unity and independence; Italy, he repeated, was only a geographical expression. When subsequently Charles Louis of Lucca, who had renounced his small territory, which was no longer safe for him, became duke of Parma by the death of the Empress Maria Louisa, on December 17, and Lucca, on the other hand, fell to Tuscany, Metternich immediately took advantage of the strife that arose for the purpose of reserving to himself the right of occupying the duchies of Parma and Modena. He received from Paris the most favorable assurances, and Guizot followed them up by issuing the most urgent remonstrances to Turin and to Rome. But while the fraternal sentiment was constantly growing between Vienna and Paris, Palmerston (PLATE XX.) was watching every one of their steps. He had no more purpose of allowing the two powers to manage arbitrarily in Italy than in Switzerland. Not that he was controlled by revolutionary passions, as charged by the hatred of his enemies, but in part because he desired to punish French faithlessness, and futhermore because he wished to avert by timely concessions the Revolution which he saw approaching, and the European war that would probably grow out of it. He despatched Lord Minto for the purpose of imparting encouragement in Turin, Florence, and Rome in view of the menacing language of Austria.

But he had not reckoned with the passions of the southern people. The voice of reason found no audience here. Instead of that, a shock came from the volcanic soil of Sicily, which like an earthquake shattered into ruins the existing order. There the condition had become quite intolerable. When the severe punishment of a rising that failed at Messina in the autumn of 1847 had de-



stroyed the last hope of voluntary concession on the part of the government, the Liberals of the mainland agreed with those on the island upon a fresh stroke. Absolutely without disguise, the Revolution was proclaimed at Palermo, on January 12, the king's birthday; and although without any concerted plan, the insurrection was maintained, notwithstanding a bombardment of fourteen days, against the assault of the royal forces that had landed, till the exhaustion of the troops compelled their general, de Sauget, to evacuate the city, and embark for Naples. When the citadel renewed the cannonading an English man-of-war took a position between it and the city, and Lord Minto by mediation effected a truce pending which the garrison retired without molestation. The entire island, with the exception of a few towns on the coast held by the royalists, acknowledged the provisional government constituted with the aged Ruggiero Settimo as president. In anticipation of a similar outbreak at Naples, King Ferdinand II. resolved to proclaim, on February 10, a common constitution for Naples and Sicily, to which he solemnly made oath on February 24. Mutual rivalry urged on the other Italian governments to a precipitate race in concessions. At Turin and at Florence constitutions were promised; there was talk of one even in Rome. The pope, who had now sunken to be the protégé of the popular hero Ciceruacchio (the baker Angelo Brunetti) appointed a ministry, in large part composed of laymen.

In Lombardy and Venetia, also, the tension had become extremely great. The hatred of Austria was constantly on the increase. No Italian lady would longer associate with an Austrian officer; tobacco and the lottery, as being principal sources of revenue for the government, were outlawed. Field-Marshal Radetzky, commandant of the country, a sharp-sighted and acute soldier, notwithstanding his eighty-two years, saw the danger coming; on February 22 he decreed a state of siege, but the re-enforcements which he required with increasing urgency were withheld. "I demanded troops," he complained indignantly, "and they haggled with me regarding battalions; I demanded subsistence, and they sent me rescripts which only an antiquarian could decipher." Metternich was fully aware of the crisis which was preparing. "This loss is deadly," he had said after the defeat of the Sonderbund; "we hold on as long as we can, but I despair of the issue." The complete atrophy of the Austrian state condemned it to impotence. The more joyous was Guizot. Everything was now adapting itself to his strong desire to repay England

the humiliation inflicted on France in 1840. Frederick William IV., deeply moved by the war with the Sonderbund, and by the treatment of his Neuchâtel subjects, sent his confidant, Radowitz, to Paris in order to concert with France and Austria an armed intervention. Russia now no longer held back, and on February 24 addressed a note to London with the most vehement invectives against the "benevolent protector of every Revolution whose object was to introduce representative institutions into Italy." The coalition, from which England was excluded, was well nigh ready, and the conference that was to constitute it was fixed for March 15, 1848. At Toulon 7000 men were in readiness to embark for Italy.

Then a vengeful hand, with one blow, rent asunder these dark projects, and the tempest of a European Revolution pitilessly swept away their authors.

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE DOWNFALL OF THE MONARCHY OF JULY AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SECOND REPUBLIC.

IT was one of the fatalities of the monarchy of July, and a natural result of its false position, that in its foreign policy it was able to give French national pride at best only an apparent satisfaction, and one that rapidly passed away, and never could impart real and permanent content. In the *entente cordiale*, the national instinct was right in detecting a guardianship on the part of England; the humiliation of 1840 they never forgave its author, and the alliance with Austria drove the Liberals into the camp of his enemies. Guizot, who had had the misfortune to be obliged to begin his assumption of office with a humiliating retraction, was styled, as long as the friendship with England lasted, only "Lord Guizot, the English viceroy on the Continent;" that he was in English pay was regarded as proven; and nothing more violently provoked the opposition than the compact with Austria in favor of the Swiss Jesuits. Even the only thing that flattered national sentiment, the surrender of Abd-el-Kader to Aumale, was spoiled by the government; for the promise of the captor that the prisoner should be free to depart to the Orient was not confirmed; he was detained in Toulon.

The movement of minds, which received a coloring that became continually more hostile to the monarchy was, however, by no means confined to the domain of politics; it extended itself more and more over the social domain. Under the Restoration the view of the inequality and injustice in the division of labor and enjoyment had led individual minds to the conclusion that this irrational state of human society must be replaced by another more conformable to reason. Entirely in the spirit and according to the method of Rousseau, Count Saint-Simon (1760-1825), a man half-charlatan, half-mystic, proposed to transform by purely peaceful means the state based upon force and oppression into one reposing exclusively upon knowledge and labor; after setting aside religion, theology, and philosophy, the teaching of nature would alone remain, and an

end be put by association to the profit made by the stronger at the expense of the weaker. The scheme excited little notice at first; and after 1830, being rejected by the citizen class, the apostles of the new doctrine, Enfantin and Bazard, turned to the proletariat, whose equality in the state, for which they were indebted to the Revolution, gave to their suffering condition neither political rights nor even a prospect of rendering it tolerable; and to these they appealed in order to bring before their minds the exasperating difference between the numerous class who produced everything and enjoyed nothing, and the privileged minority who produced nothing and enjoyed everything. They organized a regular theocracy, a 'church' or 'family' with a 'Supreme Father,' not understanding why they might not make for themselves a new God, since the making of a new king had been easily brought about. But soon division broke out in the bosom of the community, and then bankruptcy occurred; the whole movement was laid bare as a shameless school of prostitution, and the heads of the 'family' were sentenced to imprisonment for violation of public morals. However, Saint-Simonism left behind it a poison which penetrated deeply into the veins of the people. From it sprang socialism; and Proudhon, the strongest thinker produced by it, gave to the question, "What is property?" the short answer, "Property is robbery," as the source of inequality and of despotism. But this feeling of hostility to the existing order of things was by no means confined to the lowest strata; from the street it mounts to the minds of the cultivated, and is reflected in literature. Literature, after 1830, becomes more and more debased. It is no longer that literature which, so splendidly developed under the Restoration, flourished in graceful forms and full of spirit in the serene spheres of the salon, but a literature of the times, full of polemics and of hate. "The poets of the old monarchy and of Catholicism," Béranger averred, "are like birds whose tree has fallen, and they know not whither to betake themselves." Lamartine turned his back absolutely upon poetry, and threw himself into politics. Victor Hugo, after the Revolution of July, had nothing more urgent to do than to strew incense before the victorious democracy; as with Lamartine, declamation with him took the place of poetry; he sides with the low against the high, with the hideous against the beautiful; he presumes to lay a platform as the reformer of society, while in truth he only flatters the passions of the day. The theatre, after the suppression of the censorship, reached the extreme of dissoluteness, and became a school



of license and of crime. No longer is the representation of the beautiful, the pathetic, the ideal, the exclusive mission of Romance, which now is occupied with social questions, paints the evils of society, discusses its problems, and preaches its transformation. In the novels of the gifted 'George Sand' (Fig. 62) (Madame Dudevant), under the insuaring song of the poetry and passion of nature, outcasts and ill-used people rise up against those above them in position and wealth; there are seen the denial of human and divine laws, of duty and of conscience, the glorification of adultery in the behalf of caprice, and of the worship of the individual self; and the greater the astonishment thus secured, the more irresistibly was the public intoxicated by the subtle poison exhaled from these variegated flowers. If not deeper, yet more diffused, was the influence of Balzac (the father of the realistic school), in consequence of the license of his sensuous temperament and his shameless defamation of the higher classes. To the coarsest methods and the lowest strata Eugène Sue descends; in his romances virtue and nobleness are found only in the proletariat; they even dwell in the heart of the criminal; while selfishness and heartlessness are the natural characteristics of the aristocrat. Even the old tone of delicacy disappears from conversation, and gives place to coarseness.

What poetry lost was gained by journalism, which obtained an importance hitherto unknown. The class of the journalists became the most influential in the state; from their ranks deputies and statesmen were recruited. It was journalism especially which brought the efforts of socialists into connection with the struggles of political parties. But with the socialists a change of the political conditions was not regarded as the special object; it was considered by them as the means for a social transformation, for a proportionate division of burden and gain, for the complete establishment of equality. Yet not till the principle was set forth by young Louis Blanc (Fig. 63), "If the condition of the lower classes of laboring men is to be improved, they must acquire political influence in order to be able to secure the fulfilment of their demands," was there an actual league concluded between the socialists and the republicans; and on this account the masses became republican, for only the republic leads to an equalization of property and of orders; it alone can make over the goods of the proprietors who do not labor to the laborers who have no possessions. Lamartine's history of the Girondists, which invested the men of blood and the Terror of 1793

with a halo of romantic interest, heightened the revolutionary flame. Thanks to the resistless charm of its descriptions, it aided more than



FIG. 62. — George Sand. Reduced facsimile of the etching by R. Hissot, 1834; original painting by Eugene Delacroix.

any other literary work in destroying the little sentiment of respect for legality that still existed in Lamartine's contemporaries.

Outwardly very little was changed in existing arrangements;

there were still as formerly a king, peers, deputies, and magistrates; but it seemed as if these names no longer had the same meaning as in former days. The feeling of general security was disappearing. The relation between prince and people was continually growing colder, more suspicious, and more hostile. The calumnies by which the king saw himself assailed in the press reached the highest degree of audacity. The very envy of fate seemed to labor to uproot his sway. With the death of the duke of Orleans, the best beloved of the king's sons, who, while upon a visit to his parents at Neuilly



FIG. 63.— Louis Blanc. From an anonymous engraving.

on July 13, 1842, lost his life, at the age of thirty-two, by an unfortunate leap from a carriage whose horses were frightened, the future of the dynasty of July sank into its grave. The Legitimists immediately prepared a demonstration, while the young duke of Bordeaux went to London in order to receive there the homage of his adherents, who hastened from France. The debates upon the address in reply to the speech from the throne which 'branded' 'this pilgrimage to Belgrave Square' as a punishable manifestation, occasioned one of the most passionate scenes ever witnessed in the Chamber of Depu-



ties. To Berryer's sarcastic allusion to Guizot's journey to Ghent during the Hundred Days, he answered haughtily, "Yes, I was in Ghent!" He concluded the explanation that this had occurred only for the purpose of prevailing upon Louis XVIII. to afford constitutional securities, by saying: "Heap up as high as any one will, anger, invectives, calumnies, they can never reach the height of my contempt!" If there was anything which, instead of conciliating and harmonizing, provoked and exasperated men, it was this arrogance which prided itself to some extent on unpopularity. But — a strange thing — the more Guizot's doctrinairism became ossified into inflexibility, the more readily did he learn to conform to the king's wishes. The period of incessant ministerial crises was over on October 29, 1840; from that time on Guizot maintained his position for eight years; after Soult's retirement, on September 19, 1847, he was made also president of the council, and he was absolutely subservient to the will of the king.

The liberal ideas formerly worn more for appearance than really acknowledged, Louis Philippe had with years entirely shaken off. He became, consequently, more accessible to the clerical influence, which possessed a zealous ally in the bigoted queen, and to which the Calvinist Guizot so far yielded that he committed the public schools to the clergy, and put no hindrance in the way of the unobtrusive return of the Jesuits. Within twelve years the number of institutions called into life and directed by them had quadrupled. When finally, in the year 1845, the chamber, on the proposal of Thiers, required the enforcement of the law concerning religious societies, the government did indeed conclude with the Curia an illusory agreement: a few Jesuit houses were ostensibly closed, and a number of pious fathers left the country; but others came in their places, and continued the play, only with more circumspection. The other orders also increased to an extent absolutely astonishing. After the weather-vane of foreign politics turned to Catholic Austria, this inclination toward the Ultramontanes was more decidedly to be remarked. This clericalism, hypocritical and without inward truth as it was, yet had its counterpart in the entire constitutional system. The pedagogical theories of the *Doctrinaires*, according to which the system was to consist in a narrowly adjusted equipose between government and representation, had approved itself miserably on trial. Experience taught that the great liberal parties, the natural basis of the monarchy of July, were utterly unserviceable for this purpose.



For, when once combined with great difficulty, they refused to co-operate in any uniform direction, and broke up into small groups, not controlled by political principles, or regard for the common welfare, but by petty self-love and greedy self-seeking. Rare occasions excepted, the Chamber of Deputies always turned to opposition against the government, as if to its proper business. The instruments upon which the king and his minister seized to encounter this evil were more pernicious than the evil itself. In order to create an absolutely devoted majority in the chamber, no description of influence was disdained. The king, the model of an upright citizen, carried on corruption for this purpose as a legitimate business; and the Puritan Guizot (Fig. 64) established for his subordinates a regular sale of places in order to buy votes. The interests represented in the chambers were only too ready to respond to these allurements. A seat in the chamber was a gold-mine for the deputy himself and his good friends. The most shameless hunting for places prevailed; a single deputy obtained from the ministry by degrees more than three hundred places and concessions. To appease this canine appetite, and at the same time to enlarge its clientage, the government of Louis Philippe gradually created thirty-five thousand new official positions.

The weariness with which the nation came after a time to attend upon the brilliant, but fruitless, word-tournaments in the chambers, was changed into opposition to a condition which had transformed the state into a great institution for profit-sharing. This feeling rose to indignation, to moral disgust, after a series of exceedingly unsavory affairs — corruptions connected with grants, embezzlement continued for years in the army and navy administration — had disclosed a general system of robbery and plunder, extending from subalterns to individual ministers. In vain the opposition demanded judicial investigation. The obedient majority declared itself, by 225 votes, satisfied, *satisfait*; and from that hour onward this opprobrious epithet was fastened upon them. But the scandals did not come to an end. Teste, formerly a minister and now a peer, was convicted, notwithstanding shameless denial by General Cubières, who likewise had been minister, of having been bribed in the affair of the grant of a mine; and the impression made by his condemnation had not passed away when the murder of the duchess of Praslin by her husband in August, 1847, and the complaisance which aided the imprisoned murderer to escape human justice by poison, proved a degree of rottenness in the highest circles of society which surpassed the

terrible pictures drawn in the romances of Sue. A few weeks later Count Bresson, who, as the scapegoat for the Spanish matches, had been transferred from Madrid to Naples, killed himself in that city from a feeling of injured honor.



FIG. 64. — Guizot. Reduced facsimile of an engraving from the published by Paul Delaroche (1797-1856).

These acts recoiled with severity upon a system of government which employed associates and tools of such a stamp, and upon the king himself, who, by the subjection of the ministry to his will, and of the majority in the chamber to the ministry, had carried personal

government to the highest pitch. But that which drove the opposition to make an onset upon the government was not aroused moral feeling, but dissatisfaction at seeing ministers sitting so long and so firmly in chairs which their leaders were now longing to occupy once more. Since the reciprocal connection of the two chambers covered the ministry as with an impregnable intrenchment, the opposition aimed at a double object, — to break up the servile dependence of the majority upon the government, and to win over the masses by proposing the extension of the electoral franchise. For the electoral law of 1831 allowed this to only a little more than two per cent of adult males; and eligibility to office was granted to only a sixth part of these. Thus electoral reform became the campaign cry of the opposition. They brought forward the first proposal having this end in view in the spring of 1847. The king, who, as he grew older, stiffened himself with ever-increasing obstinacy in the presumption that his wisdom and experience, his ‘unalterable purpose,’ must constitute the tranquillizing force in the whirlpool of passions and errors, had as little thought of yielding as Guizot, who regarded the attack only with the haughty contempt which to him had become a second nature. His colleague and trusted henchman, Count Duchâtel, declared frankly that the proposal was nothing but the speculation of a few ambitious people, who were eager to become ministers; and it was rejected by the obedient majority.

This defeat in the chambers brought the opposition to the determination to effect a general agitation throughout the entire country. In imitation of the English example, already followed in 1830, they prepared for this purpose numerous banquets. The first took place on July 9, 1847, in the Château Rouge at Paris. There were about seventy other banquets, in different places. Odilon Barrot and Duvergier d’Hauranne stood at the head of the promoters. They were entitled to rejoice in their work. The agitation swept along like a flood. The Radicals, who at first kept aloof, now took part in the movement, and gladly suffered these allies to please themselves with the simple illusion that just as soon as they themselves should have in their hands the coveted portfolio of ministers, these swollen waves would in a moment become smooth. At the banquet given in Lille, the Radicals, under Ledru-Rollin, omitted the toast, hitherto carefully retained, to the constitutional king.

Guizot began now to waver; he offered his resignation. The

queen also, and her sons, who were yielding to the gloomiest forebodings, ventured to sustain his request; but the king angrily refused it. To his misfortune, death robbed him, on December 31, in his sister Adelaide, of the last counsellor to whom he still listened. Guizot remained, and with him the policy of resistance. The speech from the throne, at the opening of the chamber on December 28, defiantly accused the agitation of stirring up hostile and blind passions. But the opposition accepted the challenge. Odilon Barrot even alleged in his speech a fresh instance of bribery which exposed Guizot in the most mortifying manner. Worse than the impression made by the affair itself was the demeanor of Guizot, who denied it at first, and then hid himself behind the devoted majority, who passed over the incident to take into consideration the order of the day. In such a disposition, under the impression of the news of revolution in Sicily, the debate on the address took a course marked by extreme passion. The minister Duchâtel, during the debate, having appealed to a law of 1790, and announced the prohibition of the reform banquets, the opposition seized upon this to establish practically the legality of their manifestations. It was concluded to hold a banquet in the Champs Élysées. Afterwards, indeed, it occurred to the leaders of the movement that in the prevailing excitement no one could answer for the result, and they became solicitous on account of their daring act. They entered into negotiations with the government, and came, on February 20, 1848, to an agreement with its confidential agents, de Morny and Vitet, that to avoid a violent collision an officer of the police should meet the procession of those on their way to the place appointed for the banquet, and forbid the meeting, and thereupon the assembly should peaceably disperse; but a judicial complaint was to be pressed against the government for violation of the law of 1790.

The affair, however, took an entirely different course. Such a comedy was not at all to the taste of the Radicals. A programme prepared by A. Marrast bespoke for the procession not merely members of the Polytechnic School, students, and laborers, but also the National Guard. A demonstration so perilous, the government could not possibly suffer; it absolutely prohibited the banquet. Thus the Opposition saw itself compelled to choose whether it would bring on an open revolution, or lay down its arms before the government. At Thiers's urgent request the latter was chosen. Thus the king's confidence appeared to be confirmed; he would believe in no danger



whatever. The plan to be preferred in the event of a street conflict, as projected by Marshal Gérard as far back as 1839, was in readiness; but in order not needlessly to provoke the multitude, the measures for putting down a rising were not executed, and thus it came about that the entire eastern half of the city was left unoccupied. The twenty-second of February was a dark, rainy day. Many tumultuous crowds, but more disposed to be inquisitive as to what would become of the demonstration than to fight, were roving about in the streets. The chamber deliberated with little confusion concerning the Bank of Bordeaux; even the proposal of the Left, introduced by Barrot, to place the ministry on trial, could not secure the attention of the deputies. In the afternoon, when the multitude began to plunder the gun-shops, and to break the windows in the residence of the ministry of foreign affairs, the government was just preparing to order the troops to move from the barracks. Only a very small part of the National Guard obeyed the beat of the drum. In the evening, and at night, there seemed no reason for serious anxiety. But on the twenty-third matters assumed another aspect. The National Guards, ordered out again by General Jacqueminot, the commander-in-chief, now made their appearance; they were far from thinking of an assault upon the monarchy, but they were disposed to give it a lesson. Knowing that no soldier would fire on them, they prevented the regular troops from putting an end to the riot before the dismissal of the ministry should be granted; and thus they became the shield behind which the sedition grew to a revolution. The troops, on the contrary, destitute of proper and uniform orders, badly fed, and exposed to the seductions of the multitude, showed very little desire to fight, with the single exception of the municipal guards. The observation of these facts, combined with the urgent representations of his family, induced the king to yield so far that he concluded to drop the detested minister. Guizot hastened to the chamber to make known his retirement, and the calling of Count Molé to fill his place. The Right cried treachery, and the Left rejoiced; Paris was illuminated; the *émeute* was at an end.

But this was not the result upon which the leaders of the secret societies had counted. They knew that they could depend upon a numerous and thoroughly moulded proletariat; they had speculated upon having an occasion decidedly favorable to them; since such did not appear, it was high time to bring it on. About nine o'clock in the evening some laborers sought to force a passage through a de-

tachment of troops that closed up the Boulevard des Capucines, to reach the ministry of foreign affairs, and to give Guizot a mock concert. When a man in a blouse was pressing upon the commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Courand, a sergeant, the Corsican Giacomini, being enraged, fired: immediately the whole company followed him, and fifty-two dead and wounded covered the ground. Terrified, the crowd scattered in every direction.

This was, therefore, the "lucky incident" for which the leaders had waited in the office of the *Réforme*." The procession with a cart before it, bearing six bodies of the fallen men, moved to the suburbs in order to arouse the laborers to revenge. Speakers, as Garnier-Pagès and Flocon, stirred up the rage of the multitude. The tocsin sounded, the pavement was torn up, new barricades were formed. By the dawn of the 24th the Revolution was ready. Meanwhile Molé, till late in the evening, had been treating with the king in regard to the forming of the new cabinet. Not till after long opposition did the king consent to the admission of Thiers; but Thiers refused positively to enter a cabinet of which he was not to be the head, and the count consequently abandoned the attempt altogether. The wholly unexpected resumption of the conflict left no choice whatever but to summon Thiers. Now, at last, the supreme command of all the combatants was committed to the experienced Marshal Bugeaud in place of Nemours. It was three o'clock in the morning, when Thiers, after passing over hundreds of barricades, arrived at the Tuileries. The king could not persuade himself to grant electoral reform and the dissolution of the chambers; no final adjustment had been reached when Thiers, at eight o'clock, returned to the palace with the colleagues he had secured. Marshal Bugeaud drew in his troops towards the Tuileries. The only point where, during these three days, a serious conflict took place, was the Château d'Eau. This forlorn hope was defended by about one hundred men of the line and a handful of municipal guards, who, refusing every demand to surrender, fought for fully two hours against the insurgents, led by the Society of the Rights of Man, until they fell almost to the last man. Everywhere else indecision and stupidity gave the victory into the hands of the insurrection. The column of General Bedeau disbanded as it was retiring to the Tuileries; the places abandoned by it, and also the Hôtel de Ville, fell into the hands of the multitude that was pressing after them. Barrot and General Lamoricière, who betook themselves to different points, in order to

quiet the uproar by announcing the concessions secured, nowhere found a hearing: already the red flag was waving, instead of the tricolor. The office of the *Réforme* sent out a sheet: "Louis Philippe, like Charles X., orders us to be murdered. Let him then go away where Charles X. went!"

Thiers advised the king to withdraw with the troops, who were really helpless, to St.-Cloud, where he hoped to concentrate 60,000 men in a short time, and then with them retake Paris. But the king was completely broken down, and no longer able to come to any decision. At the persuasion of his wife, he so far recovered himself as to make trial of the effect of his appearing personally upon the National Guard stationed at the Place du Carrousel. The gloomy reception which he met there quickly frightened him back into the interior of the palace. At this moment the deputy, Crémieux, forced his way in. He conjured the king to summon, instead of Thiers and Bugeaud, Barrot and old Marshal Gérard. Both appointments were made. But tidings of fresh misfortunes were arriving: defections of the troops were increasing; the perplexity, the helplessness, constantly became greater; abdication was spoken of as the only expedient to save the throne for the king's grandson, the Count of Paris. Montpensier pressed a pen into the hand of his hesitating father, and Louis Philippe wrote (PLATE XXI.). Several hired carriages brought the flying royal family to St.-Cloud; the duchess of Orleans alone remained behind with her two sons, under the protection of Nemours, in order, as regent, to save the dynasty. It was high time. For after the fall of the Château d'Eau, lawless bands poured unhindered over the Palais Royal and the Tuileries. Both were basely plundered and stripped, the throne dragged to the Place de la Bastille, and burnt at the foot of the Column of July.

The duchess, whom Barrot had been seeking in vain, determined to repair to the Chamber of Deputies, attended by Dupin, in order to induce the chamber to call her oldest son to the throne under her regency. Nemours also hastened thither. But over this venal and despised body the waves of revolution were likewise dashing, and in a few moments would carry it away. Every orderly proceeding was stifled by a barbarous tumult. At length Ledru-Rollin obtained a hearing. He desired a provisional government, but one appointed by the people, not by the chamber. Upon this, and upon the calling of a convention, the conspirators had already

Fabrique  
que la voix  
appelée à  
mon petit  
Paris. Qui  
dans la grande  
échelle ouïe

11

24 Feb.<sup>r</sup> 1848. —



J'abrique cette couronne  
que la voix nationale m'avait  
appelée à porter, en faveur  
de mon petit fils le comte de  
Paris. Qu'il réussisse.  
Dans la grande tâche qu'il lui  
échoue aujourd'hui.

Louis Philippe

24 Fev.<sup>r</sup> 1848. —

come to an understanding, and also with regard to the breaking up of the chamber of deputies and the proclamation of the Republic. Barrot resisted the proposed measure; but with the vain Lamartine an illumination from above, as he styled it, prevailed over monarchical principles. The doors having been broken in, fresh waves of men flowed into the chamber, — the sections of the secret societies which had been led thither by Étienne Arago. In the indescribable confusion Ledru-Rollin succeeded in reading out a list of those proposed as members of the provisional government: Dupont de l'Eure, François Arago, Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, Garnier-Pagès, Marie, and Crémieux, who were also confirmed on the spot by the 'people.' The newly elected rulers repaired in triumph to the Hôtel de Ville, but there the ultra radicals of the reform had anticipated them. It was necessary to have an understanding. Marrast, Flocon, Albert the laborer, and the socialist, Louis Blanc, were received as secretaries of the provisional government, but immediately exalted themselves to the same rank with the others. Caussidière — who had been sentenced to a house of correction for twenty years, and was a pardoned conspirator of 1835 — and Étienne Arago were established in usurped offices as prefect of the police and director of the post. In vain, however, did the new government seek to obtain time and quiet for deliberation from the 'sovereign people' that overflowed the Hôtel de Ville and violently demanded the proclamation of the Republic. Driven from one apartment to another, they finally, at ten o'clock in the evening, gave out the declaration: "The Provisional Government decrees the Republic, subject to the approval of the people, who will be immediately consulted."

The Duchess of Orleans, who, in the confusion, lost her children for a time, was fortunate in crossing the Belgian frontier. Nemours, who had stood by her with chivalric fidelity, followed her after a few days. The fallen king, with the members of his family whom he had with him, after a journey full of mortal anguish, reached the coast likewise without molestation. Thence he embarked on March 2 for England, where he fixed upon Claremont Castle as his abode. He died on August 26, 1850. The Princes Joinville and Aumale immediately laid down their commands in the navy and in Algeria.

The Left had desired to depose an obnoxious ministry; and, as a result, the monarchy itself was overthrown by the sudden onset of a band of conspirators. But the throne of Louis Philippe would not have fallen a sacrifice to a *coup de main* if the falsity of the system

of government had not previously rendered it rotten within, and if the disappearance among the French people of reverence for all authority, the disease which had spread since 1789, so that every new generation desired to have its own revolution, had not rendered impossible the establishment of any condition recognized as permanent. But Louis Philippe expiated in this lamentable and undignified manner the treachery by which eighteen years before he had placed the crown of the Bourbons upon his head.

It was literally true that overnight France had again become a republic. What its authors constantly brought as a severe reproach against the victorious party of 1830, that they had arbitrarily forced upon the people, and without consulting them, a new form of government, they themselves did now and without shame. They did not even abide by the preliminary announcement. In order to please the Parisian populace, the provisional government three days later solemnly proclaimed, at the foot of the Column of July, the irrevocable abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of the republic. And so absolute was the ascendancy which in this thoroughly centralized country had been acquired by Paris, that by means of this riot in the capital the monarchy was as it were wiped out in all France. Officers, army, clergy, with a truly alarming indifference, submitted to the new power. This frivolous facility of transformation could not, however, deceive the Republicans with regard to the real state of affairs. Like their predecessors of 1792, they knew with entire certainty that the country, the immense majority of the people, had not the least desire for a republic; but none the less did they presume, not only to praise it as the source of all happiness, but to obtrude it by force upon the people, and thus did everything in their power to make the new order odious, contemptible, and intolerable to them. The true and proper Republicans of 1848 were the Socialists; the others who posed as such were only a second edition of Girondists, badly executed. Even the men who so suddenly and without preparation had attained to governmental power were rendered anxious by feeling the helplessness, bordering on insecurity, of their position in consequence of the humiliating dependence in which they were held by the victorious proletariat. On the 25th, incited by Louis Blanc, the mob extorted from the provisional government a dangerous decree, which, in order to secure the subsistence of the laborers by their toil, recognized the necessity of association on their part, and assigned to them a million francs saved on the

civil list. The special danger lay in the fact that within the government itself the Moderates were kept under pressure continually by their own colleagues, Ledru-Rollin, Flocon, and Louis Blanc, who had the proletariat at command. In Lamartine (Fig. 65), however, the government possessed a head whose name was sufficient to in-



FIG. 65. — Lamartine. Reduced facsimile of the engraving by Howard; original painting by Dupont, 1837.

spire a degree of confidence; and for whatever sins the vain poet may have committed in these last days, he now made reparation by the courage with which he confronted the unbridled masses of the populace. "Would to God," he cried to a band that were demanding his head, "that every one of you might have it on his shoulders,



then would you be more reasonable!" Also to the demand for the red flag, with which the faubourgs came forward, he found the right word in reply: "Your red flag has only made the circuit of the Champ de Mars, and is steeped in the blood of citizens: but the tricolor has been borne by French valor throughout all Europe, and with it one-half the glory of France would sink into oblivion!" The rulers, however, had to consent to wear a red rosette in their button-holes; for to appease the sovereign people remained the first and most urgent mission of the government. The palace of the Tuileries was assigned as an asylum for the invalids of labor; and in order to become masters of the most turbulent elements, a *garde mobile*, with the daily pay of one and a half francs, was substituted for the disbanded municipal guards. Louis Blanc, after he was refused the ministry of labor and of progress, which he had claimed, contented himself with the presidency of a commission of laborers, whose seat was established in the Luxembourg. So little, however, had socialistic doctrines as yet penetrated the masses, that the wishes of the laborers were restricted within very moderate limits. It was the immeasurable folly with which they were treated by those above them which first opened the floodgates of their greed. In order that the thousands who were thrown out of employment by the sudden stagnation of business might not be merely fed, but retained under a degree of discipline, national workshops were opened; but since it was forgotten to supply labor also in these, they became only the places of a proletariat paid wages for idleness, and in training here for the standing army of the Revolution. There was indeed a discrimination made, such that activity was paid two francs and inactivity one and a half francs: and although the wages of both were subsequently lowered, and the Sunday pay entirely suppressed, yet the national workshops, in the short time preceding June 15, devoured more than 14,000,000 francs.

But with the reminiscences of the first Revolution there was also awakened anew the longing for revolutionary propagandism: and the swarm of political fugitives that gathered in Paris increased this feeling with all their power. To have opposed to this rash desire for war the inexorable necessity of maintaining peace with foreign countries, to have deprived revolutionary parties abroad of all prospect of French support, and thus saved his unprepared and thoroughly distracted country from a war which undoubtedly would have led to its discomfiture, is not the least of the services rendered by

Lamartine during these arduous weeks. His manifesto on March 2, addressed to Europe, when divested of the phrases adapted to French ears, contained an unmistakable renunciation of the propagandism that is greedy for conquest, and a pledge of peace to the remainder of Europe; and in order to facilitate his purposes, the other cabinets, following Palmerston's example, did not delay entering into official relations with the provisional government. But the worst of all the affairs which this government found pressing upon it was the financial need. The republic saw before it an empty treasury. The monarchy had left behind an amount not exceeding 192,000,000 francs, and with the Revolution all income ceased. After the reluctantly appointed finance minister, Goudchaux, had quickly taken to flight, Garnier-Pagès had the courage to place himself at the forsaken post. He relieved communities that were sorely pressed by the establishment of *comptoirs d'escompte*, industry by appropriation of the merchandise laid up in warehouses; but the voluntary national loan was an absolute failure. The deposits in the savings banks were seized; but that was a small assistance. There remained nothing to be done but a compulsory currency, and an augmentation of direct taxes amounting to forty-five per cent. The first blessing, therefore, by which the republic announced itself was increasing the burdens of the people to the amount of 160,000,000 francs, — reason sufficient for incurring universal hatred, but especially to make implacable enemies of the peasantry, still suffering from the bad harvest of 1847.

Relief could come only by tranquillizing the passions, and thus silencing suspicion, and restoring a feeling of safety. Instead of this, Ledru-Rollin made it systematically his object to alarm and excite public opinion. The ministry of the interior seemed to be in his view only an instrument for working upon the country, principally by means of associates of the most doubtful character, in the interest of socialism, for displacing all officers not favorable, and, by influencing the elections in a manner unexampled for audacity, to thrust upon the population his party associates as candidates for the national assembly. The universal electoral franchise raised the number of votes at a single stroke from 250,000 to 9,000,000. But those very men who had proclaimed it, showed the greatest fear of the results of universal suffrage; since the people were not yet ripe for the republic, they desired the postponement of the elections. In regard to this there occurred the first open conflict within the government itself. Louis Blanc threatened to break down the resistance of the

majority by the aid of the proletariat: at the same time, the postponement of the elections to the National Guard and the removal of all troops from Paris were proposed: and Ledru-Rollin arranged for the disbanding of the corps of the National Guard recruited from the well-to-do-classes, the grenadiers and voltigeurs, — that is, of those upon whom the government, in case of need, could most promptly rely. These choice companies endeavored by means of a deputation *en masse* to exhibit a protest against the dissolution of the corps; but this kind of demonstration the opposite party understood incomparably better. On March 17, preceded by the clubs, more than 100,000 men, unarmed, moved on toward the Hôtel de Ville in the best order. Blanqui brought before the government the categorical demands of the people. Lamartine was the only one of the rulers who had the spirit to oppose them, which he did with a decided negative: however, the multitude drew off without violence, the promoters content to have mustered their squadrons on this occasion, and to have proved their power over them. But in fact the government submitted: the troops were removed; the elections for the National Guard were postponed to April 5, those for the Constituent Assembly to the 23d. Two days afterward the government repaired formally to the Luxembourg in order from the bottom of their hearts to thank the delegates for the grand and imposing manifestation.

The time gained was employed with the greatest zeal in laboring with the people. Ledru-Rollin aided in forming branch clubs by using public money, by sending out commissary generals and an army of emissaries. Vain labors! The more boldly the agitation was carried on the more decidedly was it repulsed by the inhabitants; there was not the least doubt that the elections would deprive the Radicals of all prospect of obtaining power. What other course remained, then, according to the logic of these champions of liberty, but a resort to force? The tribunes of the laboring-classes and the socialists, hitherto hostile to each other, came to an understanding. Indefinite postponement of the elections, suppression of the Moderate majority, dictatorship of Ledru-Rollin, a Committee of Public Safety, establishment of a social democratic, in place of the conservative, republic: such was the programme of the popular *coup d'état* publicly announced during several days. The government found itself placed in a desperate situation, for the threads of the conspiracy ran up among their own numbers; from fear of a sudden surprise, their place of session was frequently changed. Lamartine, supported by

Marrast, did all in his power to put things in a condition for defence. His last hope rested upon General Negrier, who commanded a corps of 25,000 men at Lille, and had privately declared himself in readiness to hasten to the support of the government in case of need. Fortunately among the conspirators also there was a want of agreement. Ledru-Rollin would not have anything to do with the shedding of blood. Everything was already prepared to deal the decisive blow on April 16; an article in the official paper intimated that if the elections should not result in the triumph of the socialist republic, the barricades would be the sole expedient, and the clubs awaited only the signal for the outbreak; at the last moment, Blanqui's shuddering fear of the blow meditated with such comrades overcame him, and he disclosed everything to Lamartine. The latter immediately prepared everything for defence. To General Changarnier, who had just arrived from Algiers, he intrusted the defence of the Hôtel de Ville, against which a mob 40,000 strong was advancing from the Champ de Mars. The head of the column was already in sight, when the National Guard and the *garde mobile*, dashing in upon them at the charging step, from the cross streets, cut the expedition in pieces, and thus put an end to the whole affair. The failure of this insurrection completed the electoral defeat of the Radicals and Socialists, and gave the victory in the elections to the Moderates. In Paris, Lamartine was chosen almost unanimously, and nine times in the departments; next to him were the other Moderate members of the government. Ledru-Rollin only stood twenty-fourth and Louis Blanc twenty-seventh. But three laborers were chosen.

On May 4, the anniversary of the States-General of 1789, occurred the formal opening of the Constituent Assembly. The nine hundred members were for the most part novices, who, although by a great majority monarchical, and in a country where monarchical sentiment prevailed, were to found a republic, were even compelled to do so, since beneath that banner were gathered for the time all who sought the re-establishment of order. The formal proclamation of the republic as the permanent form of the state for France, with which the proceedings opened, was evidently made with a tacit reservation. This was shown presently by the course pursued in the choice of the executive committee of five members, which it was decided to appoint on the retirement of the provisional government. Since Lamartine, on grounds of expediency, insisted that Ledru-Rollin should be a member of the committee, he was himself, though



France had just offered him an unprecedented homage, chosen for the place next to the last; before him were put François Arago, Garnier-Pagès and Marie, and last Ledru-Rollin. These elections, the almost unanimous rejection of Louis Blanc's renewed proposal to create a ministry of labor, and instead of this the determination to appoint a committee of inquiry regarding the labor question, were reasons enough, and more than enough, to draw down upon the assembly the full wrath of the clubs. To these was joined the war party, disappointed in their hopes of a general, world-wide conflagration. The presentation of a mass petition in favor of Poland was to be utilized for breaking up the Constituent Assembly. On May 15 the multitude approached with a petition, signed on the Place de la Bastille, for a declaration of war against Russia. The irruption of the wild, ragged rabble into the hall of session was made at once and successfully; for although the government had received information, yet the criminal backwardness or intentional negligence of Caussidière and of Courtais, the commandant of the National Guard, had left the approaches to the hall unguarded. While the deputies remained steadfastly but without plan in their seats in the midst of the tumult, Barbès took possession of the tribune, and required that an army should set out for Poland, that a tax of a milliard be laid upon the rich, and that all troops be removed from Paris. Raspail and Blanqui demanded imperiously the immediate declaration of war against Europe. Finally, Arago and Garnier Pagès, who had taken their posts at the Hôtel de Ville, ordered the general alarm to be beaten. The first sounds of the drum caused an explosion of rage. The stentorian voice of the clubbist Huber declared, in the name of the deceived people, the assembly dissolved, and that a provisional government would be called together, consisting of Barbès, Huber, Blanc, Caussidière, Arago, Ledru-Rollin, and Flocon. This molestation of the assembly had continued four hours, when at length, before the advance of the National Guard and the *garde mobile*, the intruders betook themselves to flight in panic terror. The Hôtel de Ville, where Barbès had installed the new dictatorship, was also cleared by the National Guard without conflict.

Legal order had been victorious; but its safety, everyone said with shame and indignation, had hung by a hair, owing to the weakness of the government, and perhaps also to treachery by some of its members. The earnest desire for a dictatorship was afterwards the prevailing sentiment. An unmistakable vote of want of confidence

in the republic and its supporters was passed by the forty-two supplementary elections, which had become necessary; the choice fell almost universally upon declared or presumptive monarchists. Among those soliciting the votes of the electors were Prince Joinville and Prince Louis Napoleon, who in May, 1846, with the aid of his physician, Conneau, was so fortunate as to escape in the dress of a bricklayer (Badinguet) from his imprisonment at Ham. The former was quickly rendered harmless by a decree of the Constituent Assembly, banishing the Orleans family. Napoleon, on the first intelligence of the Revolution, had hastened from England, as he wrote to the provisional government, with no other ambition than that of serving his country and protesting his devotion to it. But the rulers, already overburdened with perplexities, replied by requesting him to withdraw as soon as possible; and the prince thought it expedient to obey, satisfied with having drawn attention to his person, and declined the election which had fallen to him from four places, although the Constituent Assembly had expressed itself in favor of his admission. Inasmuch as his election (he wrote) might furnish a pretext for regrettable intrigues, he preferred to remain an exile rather than increase the disquiet and disturbances of his country; but should the people impose obligations upon him, he would know how to fulfil them. The higher the feeling of insecurity rose the more surely were recruits made by Bonapartism, and Louis Napoleon had secret connections with men of all parties.

After socialism was defeated in the elections, it again withdrew into the clubs and secret societies. There it brooded incessantly over new acts of violence; the outbreak was hastened by the threatened suppression of the national workshops. This had become an inevitable necessity; for the so-called laborers received into them had risen to 120,000, including 15,000 who had gained admission by fraud, of whom 2000 were formerly galley convicts and inmates of houses of correction; and they laid a formal interdict on private workshops. All attempts to reduce this great and dangerous burden had met with but very little success; the masses gave to idleness in the capital a positive preference over the employment proffered outside. When the government, in agreement with the Constituent Assembly, became in earnest, and declared it to be an imperative necessity to repress the national workshops which had become an obstacle to the restoration of industry and labor, exasperation drove the men, now so fearfully deceived after having been so incon-

siderately favored at first, beneath the banners of the secret societies. On the morning of June 23 half of Paris, according to a uniform plan long before carefully devised, was covered with barricades. This time, however, the government was better prepared. General Cavaignac, the minister of war, had added considerably to the strength of the garrison; 8000 additional troops in the vicinity were ready to hasten up at the first summons; the plan of battle had been well arranged in advance. It is true, that of the National Guard, one-fourth of the soldiers either remained behind or openly joined the insurrection; on the contrary, in other parts of the city they showed themselves absolutely reliable; like the *garde mobile*, they did their whole duty in the street-fights. Only step by step were Generals Bedeau and Lamoricière able to press forward in order to enclose on two sides the Faubourg St.-Antoine, the stronghold of the rising. Different efforts at conciliation, undertaken by Lamartine and others, found no hearing; in such an attempt, d'Affre, the archbishop of Paris, received a mortal wound.

The conflict was still raging in the streets when the Constituent Assembly took the decisive step of decreeing the suppression of the national workshops; but, blending gentleness with vigor, it appropriated at the same time eleven millions for the improvement of the condition of laborers. But now the conviction of the incompetency of the executive committee had become general. A number of deputies desired to constrain the committee by a sudden attack, on the morning of the 23d, to give in their resignation. That was not done, but a legitimate decree of the assembly put an end to an existence so little glorious. The supreme power was committed to General Cavaignac, and Paris was declared to be in a state of siege. The first use which the general made of his dictatorship was to order, in concert with the president of the Constituent Assembly, the closing of the clubs, the suppression of eleven journals, the disbanding of the insurgent legions, and the disarming of all members of the Guard who did not appear at roll-call. The struggle continued meanwhile with undiminished violence. On the right bank of the Seine, where Bedeau had been wounded, General Duvivier, who took his place, and General Lamoricière made only a slow progress; on the left General Damesme dealt the decisive stroke with the *garde mobile*, by storming the Panthéon (situated on an elevation), together with the Place Maubert, where he himself was mortally wounded. The same fate befell General Duvivier in an engagement around a

cluster of houses behind the Hôtel de Ville, where the insurgents, rejecting all conciliatory overtures, had strongly intrenched themselves. His successor, General Négrier, fell on the hotly contested Place de la Bastille. On the farther side of the Seine, where the fragments of the insurrectionary forces were now fighting only to murder and plunder, General Bréa, in the endeavor by friendly persuasion to put an end to the shedding of blood, was made prisoner, and with his adjutant barbarously murdered. Not till the twenty-sixth was the insurrection completely extinguished. Severe losses had been inflicted on both sides by this terrible four-days' battle in the streets; an accurate statement of them is impossible. Of the 12,000 prisoners more than one-half were at once set free; the others were for the most part sentenced to deportation, or, as a measure of mercy, transferred to Lambessa in Algeria; as arraigned, there remained only three already condemned for former ordinary criminal offences. Sentence of death was executed on none but the murderers of General Bréa.

On the twenty-seventh Cavaignac gave back his full powers into the hands of the Constituent Assembly; but he received them immediately, intrusted to him afresh as 'President of the Council,' with the right of himself appointing his ministers.





BOOK III.

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THE REVOLUTION OF 1848.



# THE REVOLUTION OF 1848.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE GERMAN REVOLUTION.

EUROPE undoubtedly had long expected the outbreak of a great convulsion; and yet when it made its appearance with the revolution of 1848—the ‘Revolution of February’—all the world, and in a peculiar manner the governments, were completely surprised by its advent. Least of all had any one conceived the possibility of an effect so universal, and penetrating to such a depth, as that produced by the intelligence of the downfall of the monarchy of July, wherever that news was received. The strength of the urgent demand everywhere existing for advance and for reform lent to this impulse a force much greater than that which had proceeded from the Revolution of July. In Belgium, the magnanimous offer of King Leopold to give up his crown in case his person were an obstacle to the happiness of the country, and the promise of several reforms, sufficed to quell all republican excitement. In the Netherlands a new fundamental law for the state was hastily taken into consideration. Neuchâtel declared itself free from the protection of Prussian supremacy. In England the Chartists bestirred themselves once more, but their armed demonstration was dashed in pieces against the determined attitude of the body of the citizens. Ireland rose up, but was subdued; and O’Brien and Meagher, the ringleaders, incurred transportation for life. At Madrid the putting down of a republican insurrection cost General Narvaez a fierce conflict in the streets. In Stockholm and Christiania the affair passed off with a little rioting: even the Danubian principalities were in a ferment. All these, however, were but local disturbances. On the contrary, of more general significance was the storm that swept over Germany and Italy, in the midst of which the people were engaged in a twofold contention, for liberty and for unity.

In the first confusion caused by the news from Paris, the states-



men in Vienna and Berlin expected nothing else than that the new government would not refrain, if only for the purpose of mastering its own affairs at home, from giving loose reins to revolutionary propagandism. Metternich was certain that a revolution in Milan would follow immediately after that in Paris. Radowitz, who was despatched by the king of Prussia, on March 2, a second time to Vienna with proposals in regard to the reforming of the Confederation, and the adoption of military measures, on this occasion found a more favorable hearing. But for concession to the wishes of the people King Frederick William IV. was as little disposed now as formerly. What the pressing representations of his brother won from him was limited to granting periodicity to the provincial diets, restricting the action of the commission, and insisting upon a speedy consideration at Frankfort of the Prussian proposal with regard to the suppression of the censorship. On the 7th both powers issued a joint invitation for a conference of German ministers at Dresden, which should secure satisfaction of the just desires of the nation. But before this an unheard-of thing had occurred. The same Confederate diet which had hitherto opposed in the most hostile manner every national movement had announced suddenly, on March 1, in a formal way: "Germany must and shall be raised to the place which pertains to her among the nations of Europe, only, however, in the path of concord, of lawful progress, and of uniform development." Two days later it was made optional with every state of the Confederation to do away with the censorship. On the 8th the diet recognized the necessity of revising the Confederate constitution; on the 9th it declared the imperial eagle to be its escutcheon, and the prohibited colors of the Burschenschaft to be those of the Confederation; on the 10th it invited each government to deputize for every one of the seventeen votes of the smaller council a confidential delegate for the purpose of taking counsel together with regard to revision of the constitution. But this conversion was too plainly the product of anxiety in presence of the Revolution to make a pacifying impression. In the second-rate and small states the system of bureaucratic particularism broke in pieces in one state after another, in substantially the same manner. Addresses, deputations, armed demonstrations, if need be some clamor and tumult, sufficed to wrest from the governments, after a short resistance, the removal of detested ministers, and the concession of desired reforms, such as a liberal electoral law, trial by jury, the suppression of burdens resting on the

peasantry, game-laws, the military oath, national militia, etc. Nowhere was there on the part of the governments a frank and cordial welcome of reform, everywhere a timorous waiting, and the attempt by some unimportant concessions to silence men; nowhere a forcible use of troops to uphold authority; consequently there followed the decrease of belief in the honorable purpose of governments, and the dangerous presumption that the irresistible force of the popular will had vanquished the military power. In Munich, where the Maurer ministry was superseded by a new ministry under Prince Wallerstein, the excitement received an entirely new impetus in consequence of the Lola Montez scandal, especially after the king, in his anger at the unambiguous manifestations of the students against his audacious mistress, ordered the closing of the university (February 8). Being obliged to sign a warrant of arrest against her, in the event of her return, he abdicated (March 20) in favor of his son, Maximilian II. The places of the dismissed ministers were everywhere filled by the leaders of the liberal opposition,—in Würtemberg, Römer and Pfizer; in Saxony, Braun and Oberländer; in Hanover, von Bennigsen and Stüve; in the electorate of Hesse, Eberhard and Wippermann; in Hesse-Darmstadt, where the grand duke had appointed his son co-regent, von Gagern.

In the storm that swept through all Germany, Metternich's proposal was blown away. Bavaria declared roundly against useless ministerial conferences, which only served to remind of Karlsbad, Verona, and Vienna. Hereupon the two leading powers substituted for this proposal a manifesto of March 15, which invited a congress of German princes to convene at Dresden on March 25, in order to consult together as to what was demanded in the given circumstances by the welfare of Germany; at the same time they agreed that ample revision of the Confederate constitution should be proposed, and especially that a popular representation in the Confederation should be created out of the provincial chambers. But this much delayed resolution suffered no better fate than the former. Just as little, however, were the efforts of the Liberals in the southwest, not to allow the reform to become a revolution, crowned with complete success. Such efforts were the more necessary, since a small, but fanatical, republican party would have desired above all to imitate in Germany the example of Paris. On February 28, H. von Gagern, in the second Darmstadt chamber, introduced a motion for an address to the grand duke, that he be pleased to effect that during

the continuance of the present threatening circumstances the defence of the safety of Germany at home and abroad be placed in the hands of a cabinet responsible to the provisional head of Germany; that this head of Germany, in concert with a council of princes and one of the people, should exercise the power of legislation and of taxation. The double aim of this proposal was to keep the movement in the channel of legality, and to intrust the power to be created to the crown of Prussia. To aid in the further consideration of that which the urgency of the moment demanded, on March 5, upon the proposition of von Römer and von Itzstein, fifty-one men assembled in Heidelberg, and united, not without serious contention with the Radicals, in the conclusion to urge the government to go forward, and summon a German general assembly of deputies. By a committee of seven, all past or present members of German provincial chambers were invited to a preliminary meeting at Frankfort, whose moral weight should serve as a spur to the governments, and as a restraint to the aroused passions of the people.

The first impression which intelligence of the Revolution of February produced in Austria did not go beyond wondering surprise; but there followed, in the universal belief that bankruptcy was inevitable, a sudden disappearance of coin, and a heavy run upon the state and savings banks, which hastened the catastrophe. In the Hungarian diet of the estates, Kossuth seized upon an interpellation with regard to the condition of the national bank for the purpose of attacking with all the fire of his eloquence, and with the utmost vehemence, the prevailing system of government; and he brought the assembly to a unanimous acceptance of his proposal not merely to address the emperor with the request of a responsible ministry for Hungary, but, as the best security for the rights of Hungary, at the same time to ask that he grant a constitution for all the territories of the crown. By this demand, which prior proceedings in the other German states made more impressive, the universal discontent at the brutality and stupidity of the police department obtained for the first time an aim that was really political. This movement had been already preceded by a kind of revolution in the palace. The Archduchess Sophia, with her clerical and reactionary adherents, being alarmed by the fate of the Orleans family, and supported by the Archdukes John and Stephen, had insisted upon the speediest concessions and the withdrawal of Metternich. While in default of a legal organ different unions were preparing petitions,

the government, on the evening of the 12th, yielded so far as to announce that there would be summoned from all the provinces members of the estates, one from every estate, to take counsel with the government respecting measures required. This narrow concession was but little known. The people awaited with great excitement the meetings of the estates of Lower Austria, which were to occur on the following day, March 13. Popular speakers harangued the multitude before the place of meeting, and read Kossuth's speech to them. A deputation of citizens and students admitted into the interior, began to negotiate formally with the estates; their conclusions were rejected as insufficient. Inflamed to anger by a misunderstanding, the multitude forced the entrance, and wreaked their wrath on the window-panes and furniture; a deputation of the estates repaired to the emperor, to request the fulfilment of their wishes. Meantime a division of the troops below, tired of scoffs and insults, opened fire, and five men were cut down. By this act the exasperation increased; the students demanded of their rector permission to arm themselves; deputation after deputation pressed into the castle. For a time Metternich strove to maintain his post; but finally, assailed and forsaken on all sides, he declared his readiness to retire. Amid dangers of many kinds he succeeded in reaching England in safety. On the next day a citizens' guard was granted, which supplied itself with arms from the stock in the arsenal; and the censorship was abolished. Popular excesses occurred repeatedly. On the 15th an imperial manifesto promised that in a short time deputies should be convened from all the provincial estates, with a strong representation from the citizens, "in behalf of the Constitution of the Fatherland." An indescribable outburst of rejoicing celebrated this victory, won almost without conflict. No one felt the least concern with regard to the practical shaping of the political constitution in the future. Enough that in place of the state conference shattered to pieces, a ministry now took office, which styled itself a responsible ministry. Its president was first Count Kolowrat, then Count Ficquelmont, and after May 4 Baron von Pillersdorf.

The fall of Metternich completed the destruction of the old system in the remaining states of the Confederation, which in him had lost its chief support. In Berlin, notwithstanding the daily increasing agitation which received more and more sustenance by means of the arrival of deputations and addresses from the chief provincial towns, no excesses occurred as yet. The old state-machinery, how-



ever, began to fail. Incapable of a just decision, whether to resist with energy or to make thorough concessions, the government entered upon half-measures that only discovered its weakness. A deputation of officials of the city of Berlin received an answer from the government on March 14, which was also published immediately, that the diet would be summoned to meet on April 27; as to other matters, the result of the salutary decrees prepared for the Confederation in unison with Austria should be awaited. On the 16th, with consent of von Pfuël the commandant, the quieting of the mobs was devolved upon unarmed citizens and students. With this, the movement seemed to have reached its height, notwithstanding the intelligence that arrived from Vienna. More and more the purpose began to prevail to make known to the king the will of the people by a peaceable procession of the masses to the castle grounds. Meanwhile, he had persuaded himself of the necessity of further concessions. He communicated this conclusion orally to a large deputation that came from Cologne. A few hours later there appeared a proclamation jointly subscribed by him and the prince of Prussia, which convoked the diet for April 2, and held up the prospect of a regeneration of Germany, by transforming the confederation of states into one federal state with popular representation in the federation. From Austria, now prostrate in deep disorder, consent had already been received to a temporary transfer of the diet of the Confederation to Potsdam, where it was to be opened on the 25th. In the place of von Bodelschwingh, Count Arnim-Boitzenburg was invited to act as premier; but before the time for consideration required by him had expired, events occurred which changed the aspect of affairs in the most serious manner. The ardent and heart-felt joy over the royal assurance had suggested the thought of converting the contemplated procession to the castle into a public manifestation of gratitude. When the king appeared on the balcony he was greeted by a thousand rejoicing voices. Only against the military, which had arrived for the protection of the castle, endangered by the throng of people, the feeling which was aroused since the last conflict, and now inflamed by the leaders, was manifested by shouts of dissatisfaction. The approach of dragoons increased the dilemma and the discontent, when suddenly two shots accidentally discharged from the ranks of the troops, and injuring no one, changed the picture of peace and joy into one of anger and terror. Crying out treachery, the shocked and unthinking multi-



## An meine lie

Durch mein Einberufungs-Patent vom heutigen Tage hat Euch und zum gesammten teutschen Vaterlande empfangen. begrüßt hatten nicht verhallt, so mischte ein Haufe Ruhestörer sich in dem Maaße als die Wohlgesinnten sich entfernten. Schlosses mit Recht arge Absichten befürchten ließ und Verwundet wurden, mußte der Platz durch Cavallerie im Schutze 2 Gewehre der Infanterie entluden sich von selbst, Gottlob! wickeln, meist aus Fremden bestehend, die sich seit einer Zeit haben diesen Umstand im Sinne ihrer argen Pläne, durch die von Vielen meiner treuen und lieben Berliner mit Rache- so die gräulichen Urheber von Blutvergießen geworden. Dann von der Waffe Gebrauch gemacht als sie durch viele Das siegreiche Vordringen der Truppen war die nothwendige

An Euch, Einwohner meiner geliebten Vaterstadt ist und treuester Freund beschwört Euch darum, bei Allem was zurück, räumt die Barricaden die noch stehen hinweg, und Geistes mit Worten wie sie sich Eurem Könige gegenüber alle Straßen und Plätze sogleich von den Truppen geräumt nothwendigen Gebäude, des Schlosses, des Zeughauses und werden wird. Hört die väterliche Stimme Eures Königs, das Geschehene, wie ich es vergessen will und werde in meinem Friedens-Seegen Gottes, für Preußen und durch Preußen

Eure liebevolle Königin und wahrhaft treue Mutter innigen, thränenreichen Bitten mit den Meinigen. — Geb

# en Berliner!

Ihr das Pfand der treuen Gesinnung Eures Königs zu  
 Noch war der Jubel mit dem unzählige treue Herzen mich  
 aufrührische und freche Forderungen ein und vergrößerte  
 Da ihr ungestümes Vordringen bis in's Portal des  
 idigungen wider meine tapfern und treuen Soldaten aus-  
 it und mit **eingesteckter Waffe** gesäubert werden und  
 ohne irgend Jemand zu treffen. Eine Rotte von Böse-  
 oche, obgleich aufgesucht, doch zu verbergen gewußt hatten,  
 augenscheinliche Lüge verdreht und die erhigten Gemüther  
 danken um vermeintlich vergossenes Blut! erfüllt und sind  
 eine Truppen, Eure Brüder und Landsleute haben erst  
 Schüsse aus der Königsstraße dazu gezwungen wurden.  
 e Folge davon.

jetzt, größerem Unheil vorzubeugen. Erkennt, Euer König  
 Euch heilig ist, den unseeligen Irrthum! kehrt zum Frieden  
 entsendet an mich Männer, voll des ächten alten Berliner  
 geziemen, und ich gebe Euch mein Königliches Wort, daß  
 werden sollen und die militairische Besetzung nur auf die  
 weniger anderer, und auch da nur auf kurze Zeit beschränkt  
 Bewohner meines treuen und schönen Berlins und vergesse  
 em Herzen, um der großen Zukunft Willen, die unter dem  
 ir Deutschland anbrechen wird.

und Freundinn, die sehr leidend darnieder liegt, vereint ihre  
 rieben in der Nacht vom 18—19. März 1848.

## Friedrich Wilhelm.



## An meine lieben Berliner!

Durch mein Einberufungs-Patent vom heutigen Tage habt Ihr das Pfand der treuen Gesinnung Eures Königs zu Euch und zum gesammten teutschen Vaterlande empfangen. Noch war der Jubel mit dem unzählige treue Herzen mich begrüßt hatten nicht verballt, so mischte ein Haufe Ruhestörer aufrührerische und freche Forderungen ein und vergrößerte sich in dem Maße als die Wohlgesinnten sich entfernten. Da ihr ungeschümmtes Vordringen bis in's Portal des Schlosses mit Recht arge Absichten befürchten ließ und Beleidigungen wider meine tapfern und treuen Soldaten ausgestoßen wurden, mußte der Platz durch Cavallerie **im Schritt** und mit **eingesteckter Waffe** gesäubert werden und 2 Gewehre der Infanterie entluden sich von selbst, Gottlob! ohne irgend Jemand zu treffen. Eine Rotte von Bösewichtern, meist aus Fremden bestehend, die sich seit einer Woche, obgleich aufgesucht, doch zu verbergen gewußt hatten, haben diesen Umstand im Sinne ihrer argen Pläne, durch augenscheinliche Lüge verdreht und die erbigten Gemüther von Vielen meiner treuen und lieben Berliner mit Rache-Gedanken um vermeintlich vergossenes Blut! erfüllt und sind so die gräßlichen Urheber von Blutvergießen geworden. Meine Truppen, Eure Brüder und Landsleute haben erst dann von der Waffe Gebrauch gemacht als sie durch viele Schüsse aus der Königsstraße dazu gezwungen wurden. Das siegreiche Vordringen der Truppen war die nothwendige Folge davon.

An Euch, Einwohner meiner geliebten Vaterstadt ist es jetzt, größerem Unheil vorzubeugen. Erkennt, Euer König und treuester Freund beschwört Euch darum, bei Allem was Euch heilig ist, den unseligen Irrthum! lehr't zum Frieden zurück, räumt die Barricaden die noch stehen hinweg, und entsendet an mich Männer, voll des ächten alten Berliner Geistes mit Worten wie sie sich Eurem Könige gegenüber geziemen, und ich gebe Euch mein königliches Wort, daß alle Straßen und Plätze sogleich von den Truppen geräumt werden sollen und die militairische Besetzung nur auf die nothwendigen Gebäude, des Schlosses, des Zeughauses und weniger anderer, und auch da nur auf kurze Zeit beschränkt werden wird. Hört die väterliche Stimme Eures Königs, Bewohner meines treuen und schönen Berlins und vergeßet das Geschehene, wie ich es vergessen will und werde in meinem Herzen, um der großen Zukunft Willen, die unter dem Friedens-Segen Gottes, für Preußen und durch Preußen für Deutschland anbrechen wird.

Eure liebreiche Königin und wahrhaft treue Mutter und Freundinn, die sehr leidend darnieder liegt, vereint ihre innigen, thränenreichen Bitten mit den Meinigen. — Geschrieben in der Nacht vom 18—19. März 1848.

## Friedrich Wilhelm.

*Abdruck in der Deutschen Schillingen Dietz-Postdruckerei.*

Reduced facsimile of the Proclamation, "An meine lieben Berliner!" issued by the King of Prussia, March 19, 1848.

# an Berliner!

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## Friedrich Wilhelm.



tude, also urged on by demagogues, scattered in every direction and swift as the wind the city was covered with barricades and everything prepared for a fight in the streets. The endeavor of the king, who was most painfully affected, to clear up the misunderstanding, sounded to the enraged people as mockery. They required the withdrawal of the troops as a pledge of his sincerity. But military honor, the exasperation of the men and officers, and doubts as to the result, led to the resolve to use force; and General von Prittwitz was put in the place of Pfuël, who was inclined to yield. Thus began a senseless, embittered, and bloody struggle, in the streets and in the houses, between the people who had received what they desired, and the king who had no purpose of taking it from them. Within the castle the anarchy was hardly less than in the street. The king burned with the desire to put an end to the shedding of blood. He called together the burghermasters, the city council, and other citizens of note, that they might be convinced of his peaceable sentiments, and be able to convey that assurance to their fellow-citizens. In his presence the question was debated on all sides, and they sought to make it clear to him that the only means of explaining the wretched misunderstanding was to withdraw the troops. The latter's urgent need of peace supported these representations. In a proclamation '*An meine lieben Berliner*' ('To my beloved Berliners') (PLATE XXII.) the king spoke impressively of conciliation; he pledged himself to the immediate withdrawal of the troops as soon as the barricades were removed. But even this condition was not carried out. Indeed, by a second unexplained misunderstanding, the withdrawal was not made according to the original plan in the shape of a concentration in the direction of the castle and the public buildings, but in such a manner that the troops were almost completely drawn out of the city. Thus the seal was impressed upon the opinion that the resistless might of the Revolution had gained the victory over the brutal force of the bayonet. And the subsequent bearing of the defenceless king was indeed that of one vanquished. From the castle terrace he announced with his own mouth the grant to the people of the desired permission to arm themselves. Obedient to the call of the multitude, who had borne into the court of the castle the bodies of the fallen combatants for liberty, he appeared, his almost fainting consort on his arm, bared his head at the cry "Hats off," and waited thus until the procession had passed by. The prince of Prussia



being, as reputed author of the bloodshed, a principal object of popular hatred, was removed by being sent on a mission to the English court. The new ministry, with Count Arnim-Boitzenburg as premier, was composed of H. A. von Arnim for foreign affairs, von Auerswald for the interior, Count Schwerin for worship and instruction, Bornemann for justice, and Camphausen, without a portfolio. An amnesty was issued, and the infatuated multitude escorted the Polish conspirators, who were thus released from prison, through the streets of Berlin in triumph.

The pain and anxiety caused by such a calamity suggested to the minister von Arnim the thought of arranging an imposing demonstration, not only to comfort the heart-broken king, but also to relieve him before Germany from the appearance of having yielded to the movement through compulsion. On the morning of March 21 a placard proclaimed to the astonished people of Berlin that the king had put himself at the head of the entire fatherland. Attended by princes and ministers, followed by a miscellaneous procession, all adorned with insignia of black, red, and gold, the king began a circuit through the streets filled with rejoicing men, he pausing frequently to make speeches. A second proclamation declared that he undertook the direction of Germany for the hour of danger: "Prussia henceforth is merged in Germany!" The army received orders to wear the German cockade. To complete the dishonor of the crown, the king was obliged, on the 22d, to take part from the balcony of his castle in the obsequies of the fallen champions of liberty.

The decision to undertake the direction of Germany accorded ill with the weakness shown in reference to the insurrection. Instead of giving inspiration and promising aid, it sounded like the cry of distress of one hard pushed. The democracy and the courts of princes with equal decision repulsed it as a usurpation. From Vienna, where Ficquelmont and every other Austrian statesman thought concerning the relation to Germany precisely as did the fallen Metternich, there soon arrived an earnest protest against the contemplated 'complete subversion of the existing order;' and the assent to the transfer of the Confederate Diet to Potsdam was recalled. The king of Prussia as the head of Germany had become impossible. What Prussia thus lost in importance, the need of the hour laid upon the *Vorparlament* which assembled on March 31 at Frankfort. Here was first enkindled the strife between the

Moderates, who desired to join on to the existing order, and the Radicals, who would have preferred a constituent convention at once; but the former kept possession of the field. Consequently the business was limited to preparing the call of a general assembly, to which should be reserved the work of making a constitution. The proposal to remain in permanent session, brought forward by F. Hecker of Mannheim, was rejected; and nothing was done but to appoint a commission of fifty to remain, and superintend the execution of the acts adopted.

Further decrees related to regulation of elections to the parliament, as well as to the immediate admission of Schleswig, and of East and West Prussia, into the German Confederation. The diet also addressed to the governments the demand to order elections for the National Assembly, and established the electoral proportion at one representative for every 50,000 souls.

The hope of the Moderates, to protect the work of national reform against the errors of the Revolution, was not yet completely fulfilled. Beaten

in Frankfort, the Republican party transferred the place of combat to the grand duchy of Baden, where, for a long time, they had worked vigorously in secret. From this starting-point Hecker, his fellow-countryman Gustav von Struve, and the other party leaders, intended, with a blindness bordering on insanity, to bring about an uprising of the people, which was to overturn the thrones of all the German princes. On April 12 Hecker (Fig. 66) raised the standard of revolt at Constance. But the expected enthusiasm on the part of the people did not appear. On the Scheideck, at



FIG. 66.—F. Hecker. Reduced from one of the original sketches from life by Schertle.

Kandern. General F. von Gagern attacked, with the Badenese troops, the insurgents, who were entirely dispersed; but he himself fell mortally wounded just before the beginning of the actual engagement. A volunteer company from France was dispersed at Dossenbach. The poet Herwegh, who was present there, escaped by an ignominious flight into Switzerland, where Hecker and Struve had already arrived before him. Ten days had sufficed for subduing the foolish enterprise; and the only result that survived it consisted in an increased animosity between Constitutionalists and Radicals, and in increased popular distrust of the entire national movement.

Since it was impossible that the old Confederate diet should be allowed to continue along with the National Assembly, it would have been of the highest importance to create a new organ to replace the old, in order to secure a continuity of rightful authority, and one which should represent to the assembly the governing power, and also at the session introduce a prepared draught of a constitution. But the want of consideration, and mutual jealousies on the part of the several governments did not suffer this to be effected. The 'Outline of a Law of the German State,' elaborated by Dahlmann and Albrecht, at the desire of the seventeen confidential delegates appointed by the governments at the request of the diet, encountered opposition in many quarters, particularly on account of the hereditary feature in the power of the emperor, which was its point of departure. Thus it happened that the National Assembly had no draught whatever of laws before it upon which it might have relied; but from the first day its deliberations were extremely vague and fluctuating in their nature. The enthusiasts, who were in the majority, gave themselves up to the idea that German unity would now come about of itself,—a childish dream; yet in the hearts of these millions, young and old, in the enthusiasm that swept men along irresistibly, there was something indescribably refreshing and animating. This was never experienced more deeply and heartily than on May 18, when, in St. Paul's Church at Frankfort-on-the-Main, the assembly of the freely chosen representatives of the entire nation was opened. Its first president was the chivalric and imposing Heinrich von Gagern (Fig. 67). The assembly, which comprised the intellectual flower of the nation, as rich in talent and self-confidence as it was poor in statesmanlike experience, found itself summoned to the difficult mission, not only of creating a national constitution, but also of creating the national state for this constitu-

tion. This mission, as was quickly manifest, surpassed its abilities. But the helpless condition to which all the governments had fallen made this appear as the only pillar that could bear up public order, and lent a temporary, but delusive, appearance of sovereignty.

As in the Vorparlament, so also in the National Assembly, the preponderance of monarchical sentiments among the German people was clearly marked. The Republican Left formed only the one-fourth part of the deputies, who numbered about 550. With regard



FIG. 67. — Heinrich von Gagern, president of the Constituent National Assembly (the 'Frankfort Parliament'). From an anonymous lithograph.

to the ways and means of effecting the transformation of a confederation of states into one federal state — the object sought by the preponderating majority — the greatest diversity of opinions prevailed. While some would have preferred to put an end, by a stroke, to manifold statehood, or to reduce it to the smallest amount, yet with others, particularly with the deputies of the great states, Bavaria and Württemberg, there was dominant a strong separatistic feeling which strove against any unity that should demand a sacrifice



of their independent position. This diversity made itself perceptible at once, when, convinced of the uselessness of the old Confederate diet, the deputies came to put their hands to the indispensable work of establishing a provisional executive power. Some were desirous of conferring it upon one of the most powerful princes of the Confederation, while others preferred a directory of several persons. A Confederate ministry was commended by some members, while others gave the preference to an executive committee chosen from the assembly itself. Here, for the first time, was disclosed in a concrete form the perilous effects of the occurrences at Berlin in March. The most natural course, the only one promising success, the committal of the provisional central power to the Prussian crown, when a deputy ventured to propose it, was rejected with laughter. After a very prolix debate — longwindedness soon proved as prominent a characteristic of the assembly as lack of parliamentary training — Dahlmann, as chairman of the committee, brought forward the motion, that an independent national administrator should be nominated as soon as possible by the governments to the National Assembly, and be appointed by it without discussion. This measure seemed happily devised, not only to secure agreement with the dynasties, but also as indicating in advance the future supreme head of the empire, when suddenly Gagern left the president's chair, and surprised the assembly by a bold onset. This body, he said, must itself create the provisional central power, without participation of the governments, and commit it to a prince, not because, but although, a prince. By his elevated language he carried the assembly to the conclusion to intrust the provisional central power to a national administrator, who, himself independent, should deal with the assembly through responsible ministers. On June 29 the Archduke John of Austria (Fig. 68) was chosen to the dignity, receiving 436 votes. — a prince who by his marriage with the daughter of a Tyrolese postmaster, by his strained relations to the court of Vienna, and his inclination to the life of a plain citizen, was encompassed with the halo of an extraordinary popularity. On July 12 the national administrator entered upon his office. To be the head of the national ministry he invited von Schmerling, the last president-deputy of the Confederation, who, however, shortly delivered over the presidency to Prince von Leiningen, a half-brother of the queen of England, and retained only the office of minister of the interior. The Prussian general, von Peucker, undertook the war department;

Heckscher of Hamburg, foreign affairs; R. von Mohl of Baden, justice; Beckerath of Crefeld, finance; Duckwitz of Bremen, commerce.

The power of popular sovereignty, as it seemed, had constituted the National Assembly the central power; but the president of the Confederate diet expressly and with full deliberation closed the last session of the diet with the committal of its legitimate activities and

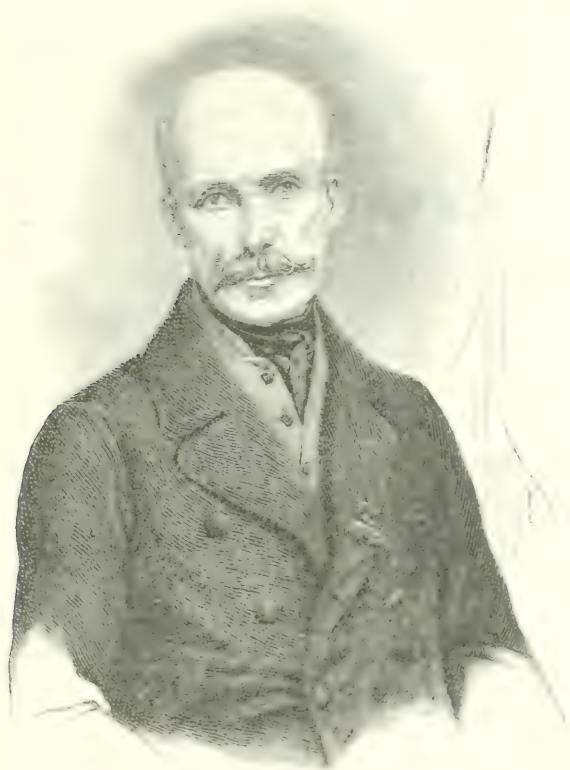


FIG. 68. — Archduke John of Austria. Reduced facsimile of the lithograph by Schertle, 1848; from the daguerreotype by Biow.

duties to the national administrator, in the name of the governments. As soon as the new national authorities began to exercise the actual functions of government, they were at once made aware of their weakness. The essentials for activity were wanting to the national ministers: to the minister of finance, revenue; to the war minister, an army; to the minister of foreign affairs, international recognition. The raising of the Confederate military force from one to two per

cent of the population, the governments complied with willingly; the payments required for creating a German navy, the greater number discharged but tardily, or not at all. The order of the war minister, that on August 6 all the Confederate troops should pay homage to the national administrator, was obeyed only by the small states: the larger states either evaded it, or suffered it to be wholly disregarded. That a rupture had not already occurred, was caused principally by the fact that the National Assembly, before putting its hand to the constitution itself, held it to be necessary to establish the 'fundamental rights;' that is, the inborn, inalienable civil rights of every man. But the deliberations on this subject followed a course anticipated by no one. It was as if the stream of endeavor for liberty, choked up for thirty years, had broken through all embankments, and had dashed together in a wild, whirling mass all manner of social and economical questions and principles. To the first five paragraphs alone, relating to civil rights in the empire and in the states, ninety-nine amendments were offered. The first discussion with regard to fundamental rights could not be brought to a conclusion before October 13. The whole remained, as regards the immediate object, lost labor. Fundamental rights for all Germany have never yet been fully attained. The essential part of these rights has been gradually transferred into individual constitutions and into the public consciousness of right. Amid the protracted explanations to which occasion was thus given, on the one side the interest of the people in the National Assembly declined, and on the other the opposition of particularism was strengthened.

Prussia, the only state on which, in the work of forming a constitution for Germany, actual reliance could have been placed, was wholly engrossed by the confusion in her own domestic affairs. Count Arnim-Boitzenburg, after holding office for ten days, gave up his place to Camphausen, the president of the Cologne chamber of commerce, with whom Hansemann and A. von Auerswald entered the ministry. The United Landtag which a little more than a year before had received from the mouth of the king the solemn assurance that a sheet of paper should never come between him and his people, was now surprised by the announcement that the constitutional monarchy was a completed transaction, which only awaited legal forms. After he had given his assent to freedom of the press, trial by jury, establishment of the independence of the judiciary, right of free association, equality of all confessions, right of the people's rep-

representatives to control the civil list and lay taxes, it only remained that by acceptance of the electoral law resting 'on the broadest democratical principles' the king should complete his own death-sentence. Only two members, von Tadden-Triglaff and Otto von Bismarck (Fig. 69), had the courage to vote against the address of thanks adopted in return for these grants. To this universal confusion was also added the uprising of the Poles in the province of Posen. The perverse way in which General von Willisen, who was named commissioner for the province, sought to quiet the Poles, by concessions at the expense of the Germans, only increased their boldness. At Miloslaw (April 30) and Wreschen (May 3) the troops had the worst. Then at last General von Pfuel appeared, invested with full power as dictator, and the rising was speedily and energetically put down. In Berlin, meantime, the street populace, unimpeded by the citizen guard, held to lawless and disgraceful courses. From May 22 a Prussian national assembly was in session there. In it moderate views prevailed. Berend's motion, to declare that the combatants of March 18 and 19 had deserved well of the fatherland, was rejected by the majority.

A. von Auerswald, lately president of the government at Treves, formed a new cabinet, which announced itself as the 'ministry of action.' It promised not merely an improvement of the draught of a constitution, but also practical reforms; and it restored public order in the capital by establishing a protective police. No ministry, however, let it be called what it would, was able to withdraw itself from the question as to the relation of Prussia to the remodelling of Germany that was under discussion in Frankfort. To aid in this plan was the candid, but also the confused, heart's desire of King Frederick William IV. In the festival of the building of the cathedral of Cologne, on August 15, at which the na-



FIG. 69. — Otto von Bismarck-Schönhausen, delegate to the Prussian Union Landtag.



tional administrator and many members of the National Assembly were present, he drank to the toast of "the architects in the great work of German unity," but also he cried to Gagern in a warning voice, "Do not forget that there are princes in Germany, and that I am one of them!" The old Prussian sentiment gathered strength in opposition to Frankfort, and assumed even a hostile position toward the national idea, the announcement of which in the king's proclamation of March 21 appeared to it as a humiliation. The injurious pretensions by which the democracy delighted to annoy Prussia did their part to increase this sentiment. The military party saw in the entire national movement nothing but a democratic vertigo, and after the June street-fight in Paris confidently hoped for a similar overthrow of this agitation.

This sentiment influenced decisively the position taken by Prussia in the Schleswig-Holstein business. That which was only announced by the 'Open Letter' of Christian VIII. had been made actual by his son Frederick VII., the last male of the old royal line, who ascended the throne on January 20, 1848. This he did on the 28th by issuing a constitution for the united state. To this arbitrary act an assembly of the members of the estates of Schleswig-Holstein opposed an energetic protest at Kiel, on February 17, with the demand of a joint constitution for the duchies, and the admission of Schleswig into the German Confederation. Encouraged by the revolution in France, they sent their demands by a deputation to Copenhagen; but there, on the publication of these proceedings, the national party compelled the king, by means of a great popular demonstration, to summon a new ministry to adopt a democratic constitution for the whole country, and effect the annexation of Schleswig. Thus driven to self-defence, a provisional government was formed at Kiel, under Prince Frederick of Augustenburg-Nöer. The greater part of the troops adhered to it; and within two days it was recognized by the whole country, though a separation from Denmark was nowhere contemplated.

The inability of the duchies to contend with the Danes, notwithstanding the gathering thither of volunteers from all parts of Germany, the provisional government could not but see. It appealed to Prussia for protection. King Frederick William (PLATE XXIII.) wished to make reparation to his army for March 19. For this reason, mainly, and not at all from a feeling of patriotic obligation, he professed to the prince of Augustenburg his readiness

PLATE XXIII.



Frederick William IV., King of Prussia.

From the steel engraving by Edward Fisher (1804-1877). Original:  
the daguerrotype by H. Bow.

*History of Art, Volume I, p. 111, fig. 108.*



to support the demands of Schleswig-Holstein. At the same time, he caused himself to be charged by the Confederate diet with the business of intervention, and sent Major von Wildenbruch to Copenhagen in order to present there the mildest construction on the advance of the Prussian forces into Holstein. But the arrogance of the Danes repelled all conciliation. They marched into Schleswig, and destroyed at Bau, on April 9, a troop of volunteers consisting in part of students. This defiance moved the diet of the Confederation to intrust Prussia with the commission of ridding Schleswig of the Danes, to give Prussia the command of the troops in the duchies, and to designate the 10th Confederate army-corps to re-enforce the Prussians. On the 12th the Prussians under General Wrangel crossed the Eider, defeated the Danes on the 23d at Schleswig, on the 24th at Oeversee, and took Flensburg on the 25th. These successes, easily gained over an antagonist so much weaker by land, were more than counterbalanced by the retaliation which puny Denmark inflicted on unprotected Germany at sea: a few ships of war, hardly seaworthy, sufficed to paralyze the entire German commerce on the Baltic and on the North Sea, and to blockade all the German harbors. By this severe calamity Prussia was incited to seize upon a part of Jutland as a security, although inadequate, for the losses suffered, and to demand in addition a money indemnity. This disgraceful, defenceless condition by sea aroused a call, even in the remotest corners of the interior, for a German fleet; patriotic enthusiasm presented its well-meant but ineffectual mite for the purpose; and with the aid of the six million thalers granted by the National Assembly, there were assembled, at the mouth of the Weser, several war-ships under Admiral Brommy. But their flag failed of international recognition; and in the aversion of the other Powers to the endeavors to effect the unity of Germany, this recognition could not be obtained.

For after the division and weakness of Germany had made her dependence on the influence exerted by foreign states a matter of course from time immemorial, to establish the unity of Germany appeared to them an unwarrantable attack upon the European political system. Even the French republic forgot in this instance its theory of the rights of peoples to decide for themselves, and claimed as its just right, precisely like the monarchy its predecessor, that neighboring nations should be split up and become weak. Nothing, however, equalled the angry exasperation with which the Emperor



Nicholas reflected that the wild transports of Revolution had seized upon all Europe with the single exception of Holy Russia. With an iron hand he kept the pestilence away from Russia, and he was persuaded also that beyond her boundaries he was to be the strong fortress of Conservative principles. Never had he forgiven his brother-in-law, Frederick William, for bowing his head before the Revolution. He would gladly have ordered his Russians to march without delay in order to establish a pure administration in Berlin; Prussia's interposition in behalf of Schleswig-Holstein was in his view defection and treachery; Sweden also protested against this intervention. Palmerston showed a disposition relatively the least hostile; as a counterpoise to French encroachments he would willingly have allowed German unity to take place. A speedy adjustment of the controversy appeared to him the best means of preventing the danger of a general war, as well as the farther strengthening of Russian influence in Germany. He protested against the advance of the Prussians into Schleswig, but tendered his good offices to effect an armistice; and the king was already far too regretful for the aid that he had rendered the Revolution not to accept them gladly, even without the menaces of the czar. The Prussians evacuated Jutland by the end of May: the Danes again invaded Schleswig, but after several engagements with varying results they were once more forced to leave the country.

The main reason why the negotiations opened at London made no progress, was that the foreign powers desired to treat only with Prussia, while Prussia desired the central power to be regarded as the one waging war, and herself only as commissioned by it. Dahlmann brought the National Assembly to make the declaration on June 9 that the case of Schleswig, as a concern of the German nation, belonged to its jurisdiction, and that it would take care that in concluding peace the rights of the duchies and the honor of Germany should be guarded. Furthermore, the Danes understood their advantage, and boldly refused the basis of peace proposed by Palmerston, viz., the partition of Schleswig, divided according to language. Broken off at London, the negotiations were resumed under Swedish mediation at Malmö; but to Max von Gagern, the representative of the central power, presence at the sittings of the ambassadors was not accorded. On July 19 an agreement was finally reached with regard to principles: a truce for three months; evacuation of the duchies by both sides, division of the army of the same into one of

Schleswig and one of Holstein; and the appointment of a governing authority, to be named jointly by Denmark and Prussia.

Nothing reflected the disgust of Prussia with this war so plainly as the fact that in the armistice signed at Malmö on August 26, without carefully confining herself to her authority, she even made to the Danes important and far-reaching concessions: the prolongation of the treaty to seven months; the invalidation of all laws and regulations in the duchies issued since March; and the appointment of a Dane, Count Karl Moltke, who was detested there, as president of the new joint government. Without concerning himself further about Frankfort, the king ratified the treaty on September 2.

While what was known of the negotiations had occasioned lively disquiet, the treaty itself called forth the greatest dismay. Filled with shame and solicitude, the best and truest friends of Germany saw before their eyes the sure destruction of the national work; for by the sacrifice of Schleswig-Holstein, the helplessness of the central power was manifested to all the world. In language of deep emotion Dahlmann entreated the National Assembly, in a matter where the honor of Germany was involved, not to yield at the first appearance of danger: he considered that by a unanimous declaration timid Prussia would be induced to recover herself. But a majority of only seventeen votes on September 5, after an extremely earnest debate, declared in favor of terminating the truce; and this was brought about by the votes of the enemies of the work of union, who expected thereby to put irreconcilable enmity between the assembly and Prussia. In consequence of this decision the ministers withdrew; but after Dahlmann, to whom the national administrator turned, and then also the second vice-president von Hermann, had failed to form a new ministry, the former resumed office, except that, in place of Prince Leiningen, who retired, Schmerling again undertook the presidency. The assembly bowed to the inexorable necessity, and on September 16 approved the armistice by a vote of 258 to 238.

An inglorious and humiliating result: so only can it ever be regarded. But this did not suffice: it was yet to be stained in addition by the foulest crime. The Radical party chose this moment of perplexity and discouragement to aim the long-planned stroke by which they purposed to break up the National Assembly and to bring about the proclamation of the republic. In the public grounds before the gates of Frankfort, on the 17th, the Radical deputies,

by inflammatory speeches, stirred up the wildest passions of a popular assembly of many thousands. On the next forenoon troops that had arrived seasonably from Mayence saved St. Paul's Church before the irruption of the mad multitude, and captured the barricades erected in the streets; but in front of the Eschenheim gate two deputies of the Right, A. von Auerswald and Prince Lichnowsky, fell into the hands of a bloodthirsty crowd, and were inhumanly murdered. This heinous deed had the most disastrous results. Alarmed and disgusted by the nefarious acts that followed the national movement, which at the first was greeted with such joyous enthusiasm, many of its ablest adherents withdrew altogether. The assembly had lost the confidence of the nation, and faith in itself. Right and Left stood over against each other so bitterly exasperated as to render a profitable co-operation in labors impossible. Such were the prospects amid which deliberations respecting a constitution for the state was to commence. If the National Assembly had been utterly unable to make its will effectual in regard to the armistice with Denmark, how much less was it competent to speak the decisive word upon this occasion! The decision, however, lay not in Frankfurt, but in Berlin and Vienna.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE REVOLUTION IN AUSTRIA AND ITS OVERTHROW: AND THE ITALIAN WAR.

WITH a suddenness wholly devoid of preparation, without any process of transition, absolute Austria became, nominally at least, a constitutional state. But with the downfall of absolutism, the bond was also burst asunder which held together in union the agglomeration of peoples composing the empire, and the unfettered nationalities were now free to contend with one another. In Hungary it had needed only this occasion to allow the old constitutional opposition to be outstripped by the Radicals, who had inscribed upon their banners the absolute autonomy of Hungary and a democratic constitution. A deputation *en masse* of the Hungarian diet, received with rejoicings by intoxicated Vienna, brought home the concession of a Hungarian responsible ministry, formed by Count L. Batthyanyi, and composed of the leaders of the Nationalist opposition, Kossuth, Eötvös, F. Deák, P. Esterházy, and Szechenyi. But Kossuth was virtual ruler in Hungary: supported by the idolatrous honor paid him by his countrymen, and no less by the German-Austrians, he compelled the clergy, and also the Vienna government, to do his will. The Austrian colors and the imperial eagles disappeared. In order not to suffer matters to come to an open revolution, the Palatine Stephen hastened to Vienna in person; and on his representations all which they desired was granted to the Hungarians, — exercise of all royal prerogatives by the palatine in the absence of the king: yearly diets at Pesth; a free electoral law; abolition of all feudal rights and tithes, of proprietors' jurisdiction; reform of county congregations; equality of all religions; their own national colors; suppression of the censorship and of the Hungarian court of chancery. Hungary stood toward the united monarchy scarcely in the relation of personal union; the Hungarian troops were forbidden to receive orders from Vienna; the seat of government and of the diet was transferred to Pesth.

But with this autonomy of Hungary the Hungarian intolerance



indulged toward all non-Magyar nationalities under the sway of St. Stephen's crown had free course. So much the more obstinate was the resistance opposed by the Slavs to Magyar pretensions, — first by the national committee of the southern Slavs at Agram, which required no less than the complete separation of the three kingdoms from Hungary, their union with Dalmatia and the Military Frontier to form an Illyrian state, and a special Croatian ministry. Whether it was merely the yielding of helplessness, or a calculated purpose, subsequently, with the help of the southern Slavs, to wrest from the Hungarians the excessive concessions extorted by necessity, the Vienna government, without consulting Pesth, appointed Colonel Jellachich as ban of Croatia. His first official acts consisted in announcing martial law against the peasants deceived by the illusive representations of the Magyars, and in the prohibition issued to the courts of holding a direct connection with the Hungarian authorities. Among the Servians political hatred of the Magyars was sharpened by religious animosity. Exasperated by the rough repulse of all their demands on the part of the Magyars, a national assembly convened at Carlowitz declared the independence of the Servian nation beneath the Austrian sceptre and the Hungarian crown.

The Czechs, like the Magyars, advanced their national demands, and carried them through as if by storm under the lead of the Prague national committee, — a special Bohemian ministry; the indissoluble union of all the countries pertaining to the crown of Wenceslaus with a constitution of their own; a constituent local diet; and the equal rights of the Czech language with the German. Under the leadership of the Slovan, Lipa, the contest against the German element began. Palacky's refusal of the invitation to join the committee of fifty marked the parting of the two nationalities; in the greater part of the country the national committee prevented the choosing of deputies to the National Assembly at Frankfort. At Cracow, on April 26, 1848, an uprising of the Poles occurred, but it was at once subdued; and henceforward Galicia was kept in obedience by the circumspection of the governor, Count Franz Stadion. With greater energy Lombardy and Venetia rose, attempting a complete separation. Radetsky saw the approach of the revolutionary movement as it extended from the southern part of the peninsula, from a distance, and expected its immediate arrival. But the revolution at Vienna and the senseless despondency which

fell upon the Austrian authorities, paralyzed his arm. Milan and Venice were lost through the incompetence of their commandants. Radetsky secured Mantua; and with the main army, reduced one-third by the defection of the Italians, retreated to Verona.

What wonder if, in this universal crash, faith in the possibility of preserving the realm in its integrity forsook even the boldest? Confusion was constantly on the increase in Vienna. All specie disappeared, leaving no sign; and the phantom of bankruptcy showed its menacing aspect. For the purpose of giving some occupation to the vehement craving of the multitude, the absolutely useless patent of March 15 was superseded on April 25 by a fundamental state law, in like manner useless, without effecting the contemplated silencing of the people: on May 3 the populace secured the retirement of Ficquelmont. And now the Aula, the students' organization, in conjunction with the representatives of the National Guard, authorized itself as a central committee to take possession of the power of the government. When the ministers gathered courage to refuse participation in this to the National Guard, the indignant Aula, on May 15, compelled the retraction of the unprecedented offence. Weaponless as was the government, it complied in all respects; for all the available troops had been despatched to Italy by Latour, minister of war, from a just perception of the place where the fate of Austria was to be decided. It was obliged to grant, beside other things, an electoral law without a property qualification, and the call of a constituent national assembly, that is, the sacrifice of the constitution of April 25. After the dissolution of the central committee, a Committee of Safety assumed its place, which issued orders in a manner so dictatorial and unrestrained that Minister Pillersdorf himself intrusted to it the protection of the entire property of the state.

The first exercise of power to which the court party overthrown on March 13 roused itself, consisted in the removal of the emperor from Vienna; on May 17, a journey that had been undertaken to Schönbrunn he extended as far as Innsbruck; thence a manifesto was issued, giving, as the reason of the emperor's flight, his want of liberty at the capital. Yet not from that place dawned the first glimmer of deliverance, but from Prague. Upon the invitation, issued by the Prague national committee to all Slav brothers in Austria, a Slavic congress assembled in Prague on June 2, under the presidency of Palacky, as the first prelude to the great future Slavic kingdom that men dreamed of, and at the same time as a renewed protest against

the election to the National Assembly which was required from the Czechs. Great, indeed, even to an impossibility of understanding one another, was the diversity of language existing among the several offshoots of the Slavic mother-speech: in order that the delegates might understand each other, the proceedings had to be held in German. Still greater was the diversity of views. All held in common only their hatred of Germans: those who were the chief spokesmen were foreigners present as guests,—Bakúnin the Russian, Liebelt the Pole, and the Belgavian Zach. Minds became heated: the appointment of Prince Windischgrätz, who was hated as an aristocrat, to be commandant of Prague, was exasperating, and accident or contrivance occasioned the revolt of May 12. A shot aimed at the prince, killed his wife; notwithstanding this, he earnestly took pains to prevent further bloodshed; but the lawlessness and ill-will of the insurgents compelled him to bring the city into subjection by a cannonade. As little was said further of the congress as of the Bohemian diet. The first, though vague, attempt to raise the Slavs to the position of the ruling race in the imperial realm had failed; but thus, for the first time, lawful authority had maintained the victory over anarchy. After this day Windischgrätz was the trusted man of the court. In deepest secrecy, unrestricted command over all the troops, with the single exception of the army of Italy, was committed to him for the necessity that might arise. The Archduke John was appointed to represent the emperor; but for the time, he, too, saw himself condemned to absolute subjection to the Committee of Safety. At their command the ministers Pillersdorf, Sommaruga, and Baumgartner were obliged to be removed, and were replaced by a new cabinet with Doblhoff as president.

On July 22 the constituent Reichstag assembled in Vienna. The confusion of languages that prevailed in it, the small supply of intelligence, and the rough opposition between the Federalists led by the Czechs and the German Unionists, caused it to be perceived in advance how little one could depend upon a salutary result of its labors in preparing a constitution. To this body, however, Austria is indebted for the only acquisition of permanent value which the year 1848 has left behind it, namely, the measure adopted, on motion of Kudlich, after interminable debate, of freeing the soil from the burdens that rested upon peasants, and the suppression of the lords' rights of feudal service. It was this memorable law which comprehended within itself the abolition of the sway of the feudal aristo-

cracy, and which first transformed the Austria of the Middle Ages into a modern state. As to sincere reception of liberal ideas, the leaders of policy at the court, the Archduke Louis and the Archduchess Sophia, remained as far from it as ever. Their whole purpose was directed to this only, — how, without injury to the dynasty and the state, to pass through these evil times. And assuredly the concessions that in the first confusion were made to the different races, and to the Magyars, were so excessive, that any government, on again acquiring strength, must have labored to save the unity of the state, and to recall such concessions. In the exasperation of the southern Slavs against the Magyars and the Germans, an excellent weapon was presented for this purpose.

The position assumed by the new ban, Jellachich, toward the national government at Pesth was from the first not that of a subordinate, but that of an equal ruler, and one of a hostile disposition. No change was produced by the imperial rescript procured by Batthyanyi, which instructed all generals commanding in Hungary, and consequently Jellachich, to obey the Pesth ministry; and authorized the ministry to put down the resistance of the Croats. The ban proceeded with his arbitrary measures until finally the Hungarian government declared all his regulations null and void, and gave orders to prosecute him for high treason. The ban's reply consisted in a command to levy all capable of bearing arms, and in summoning a Croatian-Slavonian diet. On June 5 this body assembled at Agram, and its first resolve was to renounce obedience to the Pesth government. For the second time Batthyanyi appeared as complainant at Innsbruck. The promise of the aid of Hungarian money and troops in the Italian war made it easy for him to obtain a favorable decision. On May 29 the dissolution of the diet of Agram was enjoined; and the ban, when he did not comply with the invitation to the court, was deprived, on July 10, of all his dignities; and furthermore, the protest of the Transylvanian Saxons and Rumanians against the union with Hungary was rejected. But this attempt of the court to secure in the Hungarians a support against the Revolution was abandoned as soon as Jellachich, accompanied by a deputation of the diet of Agram, repaired to Innsbruck to justify himself. The negotiations undertaken, with the Archduke John as mediator, between Jellachich and the government at Pesth, were the first indication of the new understanding.

But even had Count Batthyanyi succeeded in effecting an under-



standing between Hungary and the court, it would have been immediately frustrated by Kossuth, who, in his burning ambition, in his self-confidence that had become boundless, aimed at the utmost possible loosening of Hungary's connection with Austria. The refusal to pay the ban's troops, and the issue of 12,500,000 florins in Hungarian notes, instead of the loan offered by the Vienna bank, had already indicated this purpose; and it came forth without concealment in his first great speech at the diet, on July 11, in which he made the proposal to increase the national forces to 200,000, and connected with



FIG. 70. — Colonel Jellachich. From the lithograph by Kriehuber, 1849.

this the raising of the 42,000,000 florins necessary, by means of a loan or paper money. He denounced the Austrian government openly as an accomplice of the rebel Jellachich (Fig. 70). In opposition to his colleagues, he secured the increase of the army in such a way that for every three old battalions a fourth on a national footing, the so-called Honvéds, was constituted, and the acceptance of Austrian paper money by the Hungarian treasury was forbidden. Officers who refused to adhere to the national cause either left of their own accord or were removed.

In the Banat the uprising of the Servians was already a wide conflagration. National hate rendered the contest exceedingly savage and terrible. Prisoners were slaughtered without mercy, and heads were severed from dead bodies. Imperial officers received secret permission in Vienna to enter the ranks of the Servians, while on the side of the Hungarians the older troops not seldom refused to obey. After a short truce, the war broke out afresh with redoubled animosity; but the Hungarians had the worst. Their assault upon Szent Tomasch was repulsed. These military successes, in connection with the news of Radetzky's victories, and his secret promise in case of need to despatch 15,000 to 20,000 men to Windischgrätz, greatly encouraged the court. The time appeared to have arrived to come to an open rupture with Hungary. After the emperor had returned on August 12 to Vienna, he recalled the full powers given to the palatine, refused to confirm the Hungarian laws in regard to loans and recruiting, and declared "the changes undertaken since March by the Hungarian government" to be incompatible with the Pragmatic Sanction and with the constitution of March 15.

Concerned by this announcement, which directly struck alike at the ancient rights of the state and at the democratic reforms of the present, the diet, on Kossuth's motion, resolved once more to bring before the king, by a formal deputation, the national demands, not as suitors, but in the language of menace. But before this could be expressed the answer had already been issued in the form of an imperial rescript, which reinstated the ban in all his dignities. On all sides the enemies of the Magyars rose up. In Transylvania, Urban, the commander of the borderers, renounced allegiance to the Pesth government; the Rumanian peasants fell upon their Magyar lords; the Saxon deputies, weary of the treatment which they had experienced, left the assembly. On September 11 Jellachich crossed the Drave at the head of his troops. Much to their grief, the Moderates saw the legal opposition, to which they adhered, turned into sedition. Szechenyi became frantic; Eötvös went into voluntary exile; Deák was mute; only Batthyanyi held out still, at the urgent prayer of the palatine. Owing to the prevailing confusion and irresolution, the Magyars were able to supply their national troops from the stores in the imperial arsenals; and all the fortresses, with the exception of Temesvár and Arad, fell into their hands. The ban reached the south shore of Lake Balaton with his troops, which were most wretchedly equipped; but the expected defection of Hungarian re-  
con-

lars occurred only to a small extent, and the support promised from Vienna was not forthcoming. Fortunately for him, the Hungarians were more intent upon a settlement than a conflict. The palatine received full powers to conclude a peace with the ban. A meeting upon a steamboat on the lake was concerted. But when the ban, out of distrust, did not come, the remains of the palatine's courage failed. He fled home to Vienna, and resigned a dignity too heavy for his shoulders. The flight of the palatine gave Kossuth absolute ascendancy at the head of the committee of defence, formed by him; but it also forced the court to take decisive steps. Count Lamberg was intrusted with the supreme command of all the Hungarian and Croatian forces, and as plenipotentiary intermediary was sent to Pesth. But on this announcement the committee of defence declared him a traitor, and upon his arrival on September 28 he was slain by an enraged mob. Two days later Count Eugen Zichy, as bearer of a Croatian letter of protection and of an imperial manifesto, was sentenced to be hung by a court-martial of which Arthur Görgey, the young Honvéd major, was president; and was executed.

These bloody deeds destroyed the last possibility of a peaceful adjustment. On October 3 the Pesth diet was declared to be dissolved, its last decrees without validity, martial law proclaimed for Hungary, and upon the ban, as the king's representative, the supreme command of all the troops in the country was conferred. Fully confident of victory, the ban advanced toward Pesth, but was defeated on September 29 by the Hungarians under Moga at Velenceze. He turned his course as rapidly as possible to the Austrian frontier, in order to form a union with the corps collecting there under Latour; but his rear, consisting of 8000 men under General Roth, being surrounded by the Hungarian militia under Görgey and Perczel, was obliged to surrender at Ozora on October 7.

At Pesth the diet declared the manifesto of October 3 to be forged, outlawed Jellachich, and the committee of the estates was transformed into a provisional government.

At Vienna, where the chaos, to the heartfelt delight of the reactionary party, was constantly growing worse and wilder, the Liberal ministry had completely lost the helm, the assembly effected nothing, and the Radicals followed the proceedings beyond the Leitha with passionate anxiety. With entire justice they concluded that the subjugation of Hungary would also be the end of their rule. In such circumstances a conflict occurred on October 6, at the Tabor

bridge in Vienna, between the people and the National Guard on one side, and the military on the other. The uproar spread into the interior of the city; the war minister, Latour, was seized by a bloodthirsty mob, was murdered with the fury of cannibals, and suspended to a lamp-post; the arsenal was stormed and plundered. The assembly, which had declared its sittings permanent, and had appointed a committee of safety, undertook to mediate between the city and the government: a friendly reply from Schönbrunn appeared to promise a favorable result, when intelligence came, on October 7, that the court had fled to Olmütz. A manifesto left behind expressed the severest condemnation of what had occurred, and summoned the peoples of Austria to a crusade against the Revolution.

This clap of thunder loosed the last weak bands of order. The ministry parted asunder; forty Slav deputies announced their departure from the assembly with a protest against its further action. It was not the body of the inhabitants of the capital who plotted a rising against the imperial authority and an armed resistance: about 100,000 had fled; but those who remained in the city allowed themselves to be terrorized by the democratic unions, which were directed by a central committee, and by the revolutionary fanatics who streamed in from the country. A former lieutenant, Messenhauser, was made commandant of the National Guard; the Polish general Bem, the hero of Ostrolenka and Warsaw, received command of the mobile troops. Jellachich, now advancing by forced marches upon Vienna, called to his standard the garrison of the capital under Count Auersperg and the regiments at Presburg. A more dangerous enemy was approaching from the north. Windischgrätz was drawing near from Prague; on the 16th the unrestricted command intrusted to the prince was made public, it having hitherto been kept secret: on the 20th, from Lindenburg he declared martial law and a state of siege to exist with regard to the rebellious capital. The attempt to mediate undertaken on the part of the Frankfort central power by sending the national commissioners, Mosle and Welcker, came to nothing, for Windischgrätz did not understand how that body could intervene in this a purely Austrian affair, and furthermore the question was one not of conciliation, but of submission. A Vienna deputation returned home from Olmütz, having likewise effected nothing. As regards foreign aid the chief hope of the rebels was in the Hungarians, for the Hungarians knew what was at stake for them also at Vienna: but General Moga, partly from doubts as to the lawfulness of



advancing, and in part from want of confidence in the temper of his men, had retraced his steps to the Leitha.

After the allotted delay of twenty-four hours had expired without the helpless Vienna authorities being able to fulfil the conditions prescribed for a peaceful submission, the field marshal advanced to the assault, and seized the suburbs without difficulty. On the 28th he directed his attacks against the inner town, which was defended by



FIG. 71. — Robert Blum. From the lithograph by Schertle, 1848; original, a daguerreotype by H. Biow.

Bem with great obstinacy. To the vanquished and the prisoners the exasperated troops, especially Jellachich's terrible red-cloaked Croatians, showed no mercy. The inevitable capitulation was just signed on the 30th at Hetzendorf when the cannonading, which announced the arrival of the long-expected Hungarians, caused the revolutionary forces once more to rush to arms. Kosuth had hastened up in person to urge Moga to a second advance. But his squadrons, undisciplined and badly led,

were repulsed at Schwechat by Jellachich, while Windischgrätz opened a bombardment upon the faithless city. Some wild bands continued the defence without a plan and without profit until the first of November: then followed the unconditional surrender and the chastisement. Messenhauser, the democratic literati Becher and Jellinek, and others suffered death. Two deputies of the Frankfurt Left, R. Blum of Leipsic, and J. Fröbel, representative for Reuss, were found among the prisoners. The appeal to their in-

violable character as deputies to the National Assembly, was precisely that which in the eyes of Windischgrätz devoted them to death. Blum (Fig 71) was shot by martial law at the Brigittenau on November 9; a brochure by his companion against the subordination of Austria to the German united state saved his life.

A pendant to the subjugation of Vienna was the taking of Lemberg on November 2 by General von Hammerstein. In the German-Polish parts of the empire, the revolution was now crushed. But over the question, how and on what principles the reconstruction of the empire should be effected, a lively contest had arisen meanwhile in Olmütz. Count Stadion, supported by the recusant Czech members of the diet, succeeded in convincing the court of the impossibility of a purely military absolutism, which Kübeck and others praised as the simplest solution. After a patent of October 19, with a pledge of the unimpaired enjoyment of all rights and immunities which were confirmed by acts of the assembly adopted previously to October 6, that body was adjourned to November 22, then to meet at Kremsier in the Hannak district. The place of president of the new cabinet was taken by Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, as the special head of the military party. He had recently fought with distinction in Italy; a cavalier in whom aristocratic haughtiness took the place of moral earnestness, contempt of all that was not military, that of knowledge, and reckless audacity, that of statesmanlike sagacity. The other ministers were Stadion, for the interior; Bruck, for commerce; while, as a seeming pledge of a constitutional system, Kraus was appointed from the last cabinet for finance, and the converted democrat, Bach, for justice. For the assembly, there remained the harmless satisfaction of plunging quickly into the unsubstantial consideration of fundamental rights, and again into the no less unfruitful discussions in regard to federalism and centralization, or to pass the time in wranglings between the Czech Right and the German Left. Regardless of this body, the rulers went toward their object. The obstacle occasioned by the solemn promises which the Emperor Ferdinand had made to his subjects in general, and in particular to the Hungarians, was removed on December 2 by his abdication in favor of his nephew, Francis Joseph (Fig. 72), eighteen years of age, whose first proclamation expressed the hope "that he might succeed in uniting into one great state all the countries and races pertaining to the monarchy." In the assured expectation of the speedy subjugation of Hungary, the court, aristocracy, soldiers,

and clergy insisted that the decisive *coup d'état* should no longer be delayed. On March 7, 1849, the members of the assembly found their hall closed by the military, and at the corners of the streets an imperial manifesto which announced the conclusion of the as-



FIG. 72.— Francis Joseph I., Emperor of Austria. From the lithograph by Kriehuber; drawn from life in 1851.

sembly, and the grant of a constitution dated on the 4th for all Austria. The only serious purpose in this piece of work, besides the restriction of religious liberty, was the removal of all divisions between the several territories of the crown, that the complex states of the Pragma-



tic Sanction might be transformed into one united centralized state. Hungary obtained, indeed, the promised maintenance of her constitution, only so far, however, as should not be inconsistent with the constitution of the empire and the equalities of the nationalities, and with the separation of the Servian Voivodeship, of Transylvania, Croatia, and the Military Frontier, equivalent in effect to the abolition of the former connection. The settlement of the relation of Lombardo-Venetia to the empire was reserved for a special statute.

The reception given to the constitution now granted was in the main but slightly favorable. To the peasants, after they had housed their produce, all beyond was quite indifferent; the German-Austrians complained that the question of relationship to Germany was left unsolved; the Czechs found that after rendering their service, they were rewarded with ingratitude; the close centralization that was contemplated struck down their federal ideal, and menaced them with being Germanized; the southern Slavs grumbled that with the advance of the imperialists into Hungary, the troops of their nationality would be subjected to the one supreme command. That the Magyars would not willingly bow beneath the yoke of the general constitution, was doubtless true; but the government felt that it was able to compel them with the sword. An imperial manifesto of November 6 announced to them the armed advance, while it annulled all decrees of the Pesth diet not previously ratified, declared Kossuth and his associates in the insurrection guilty of treason against the king and country, and placed all the authorities of Hungary under Prince Windischgrätz. The Saxons of Transylvania received the promise of being again separated from Hungary.

In fact, the cause of the Hungarians appeared almost hopeless. Their army, as the engagement at Schwechat had shown, was not fit to take the field; and their national intolerance was responsible for the fact that the whole south stood in arms against them. The Servians were by the establishment of a Servian government, and the restoration of the Greek patriarchate at Karlowitz, more firmly bound than ever to the imperial cause. In January, 1849, the Baeska and the Banat were completely cleared of the Hungarians. In Transylvania, the imperial commanders, General Puchner and Lieutenant-Colonel Urban, openly renounced obedience to the Pesth government, and aided in organizing the Rumanian militia, who with bestial rage fell upon the Magyar localities. A concentric advance would seem to be able to crush resistance in its iron embrace.



Thus it appeared at the opening of the campaign. While Schlick was scattering the Hungarian militia and driving back Mezaros beyond Kaschau, Simunich crossed over the Little Carpathians, and defeated Guyon at Tyrnau, and Jellachich pressed forward from the Leitha. From Raab, Windischgrätz threatened every one aiding the revolution with the halter, and every town that was hostile with destruction, and all rebels with confiscation. Perczel, who, at Kossuth's urgency, threw himself in the way of the prince, suffered a defeat, on December 31, near Moor, at the foot of the Bakony Forest. Nothing remained but, as Görgey had advised at the beginning, to sacrifice the capital. The diet and the committee of defence fled behind the Theiss to Debreczin, carrying with them the insignia of the crown and the bank-note press. On January 5 the Austrians took possession of Buda and Pesth; the official journal announced "the glorious conclusion of the campaign." All praised Windischgrätz as saviour of the monarchy. The army gave itself up to the delights of the new Capua; hard labor devolved only upon the courts-martial and the hangman. In this extremity of danger to the Hungarians there suddenly appeared a deliverer in Görgey. This able leader had concealed himself with his 16,000 men from the enemy's superior forces in the inhospitable snow-covered fastnesses of the mountains between Schemnitz, Kremnitz, and Neusohl. Here he conceived the plan of throwing himself upon the rear of Schlick, who was preparing to advance against Debreczin. Joining Klapka, he forced Schlick to retire in headlong flight to the main army. Schlick would thus have run into the arms of Perczel, who, after a successful engagement at Szolnok, was coming to meet him from the south, if the dissensions that had broken out in the army leadership of the Hungarians had not become his salvation. This trouble was caused principally by the appointment of the Pole, Dembinski, as commander-in-chief. Görgey, who was in strained relations with Kossuth, was angry that he should be obliged to exchange his independent command for a subordinate position, under another; the other generals also felt that they were wronged by the appointment of a foreigner, who was still wanting in the requisite knowledge of the country and the people, and who, moreover, gave offence by his rough manner. His obstinacy was blamed by Görgey and Klapka as the cause of their failure to capture Schlick. In circumstances of so little promise the new commander-in-chief entered upon the offensive. This happened at the same moment when at last Windischgrätz had suffered himself to be

roused from his thoughtless inactivity by Schlick, who burned with impatience to make amends for his fault. On February 27, the armies encountered each other at the village of Kápolna. The arrival of Schlick led Dembinski to break off the engagement, as yet undecided, and to begin a retreat.

The battle of Kápolna, which decided nothing of itself, had, however, for the Hungarian side the effect of bringing to a point the exasperation against Dembinski. To it Kossuth was obliged to sacrifice his favorite, and to allow the chief command to devolve upon Görgey, though he himself still remained personally in the camp. The Austrians foolishly neglected to avail themselves of the dissensions of their enemies by an immediate advance. Bem, who had escaped from the capture of Vienna as if by miracle, suddenly displayed in Transylvania such masterly ability in partisan warfare that in a few days he wrested the greater part of the country from the brave, but dull, Puchner. Beaten in the open field, at Hermannstadt and Mediasch, Bem, nevertheless, while believed to be already conquered, rushed immediately upon Urban, drove him into the Bukovina, and inspired such terror in Puchner that he could think of no other course than to summon to his aid the Russians stationed in Wallachia. The appearance of the Russians, commanded by Lüders, forced Bem to fly towards Schässburg; but again he rallied himself, chased them, together with Puchner's corps, through the Rotenturm pass across the border, formed a junction with Perczel, who meanwhile had wrested from the Servians Szent Tomasch, and the Roman intrenchments, and relieved Peterwardein, and made himself, in connection with Perczel, master of the entire Banat. At the same time, thanks to the inaction into which Windischgrätz had relapsed after the partial success of Kápolna, the fortune of war, on the main theatre of hostilities, also turned in favor of the Hungarians. In a series of victorious engagements Görgey compelled the field-marshal to continue his retreat even up to the walls of Pesth, "in order," as his bulletin declared, "to be nearer his reserves, a movement which the enemy followed with the greatest haste."

The proved utter incapacity of Windischgrätz made his recall imperative. Jellachich, who was likewise useless, was politely ordered to keep the southern Slavs in subjection, and removed to Essek. For the new commander-in-chief, Welden, master-general of the ordnance, the question at hand was to save the army, reduced by battle, cholera, and typhus, and to provide for the defence, not of Pesth, but of

Vienna. Intrusting to General Hentzi the defence of the fortress of Buda, he began his retreat toward the frontier. It was now necessary to recommence the war from the same point as four months before.

All Hungary was freed from the enemy. But in the intoxication of joy over these successes, which surpassed the boldest hopes, the moderation vanished that hitherto had always kept up the fiction that the Magyars were contending for the legitimate king, dethroned by the rebellious military party. On April 14 Kossuth proclaimed at Debreczin the independence of Hungary, and the deposition of the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine. He caused himself to be appointed president of the government by the national assembly. But the results of this step were other than its authors had expected. The exhausted nation, which longed for peace, saw itself precipitated into a life-and-death struggle. In the army confusion and discord prevailed. The storming, on May 21, of Buda, defended by Hentzi even unto death, and Kossuth's joyous entrance into liberated Pesth, on June 6, appeared indeed to be pledges of final victory; but the pursuit of the Austrians toward Vienna ceased, and this neglect constituted perhaps the decisive crisis of the whole war. In truth, the independence of Hungary could be secured only on the twofold condition, that it had to maintain itself against no other foe than Austria singly, and that the best part of the Austrian force should continue to be detained longer in Italy. Both proved delusive. The victorious termination of the war with Sardinia made it possible to call up generals of the school of Radetzky, and through them to restore to the troops the lost confidence in their leaders. From Italy there came, clothed with full powers, Baron Haynau, the new commander-in-chief, a man full of unsparing energy, who by his barbarous chastisement of insurgent Brescia had made for himself a dreaded name. Furthermore, Schwarzenberg, in his daily fear of seeing the Hungarians before Vienna, had bowed his neck to the deepest of all humiliations. He implored the czar, Austria's old rival, to assist in the subjugation of the Hungarians. In his pride the czar felt himself to be a St. George in slaying the dragon Revolution; but by no generosity did he lighten the burden of his protection to detested Austria. It was required to be so arranged that the Russians should appear as the main army, the Austrians being with them as auxiliaries. The young Emperor Francis Joseph had to wait in person on the czar at Warsaw.

The deepest consternation now seized upon the Hungarians

when the Russian army under Paskevitch descended from the Carpathian mountains to the low plain of the Danube. Lüders for the second time pressed his way into Transylvania. In the midst of the confusion the exhausted and famished people, impoverished by the boundless multiplication of paper money, no longer suffered themselves to be swept along as Kossuth desired. Besides, with the greatness of the danger, dissension among the leaders of the army and their exasperation at the president's interference increased. Görgey, especially, at this time both chief commander and minister of war, exhibited his hatred toward Kossuth whenever possible, and the general danger did not prevent Kossuth from depriving Görgey on this account of the supreme command and committing it to Mezaros; it was only the open opposition of the officers that compelled him to leave the object of his animosity at the head of the army of the Danube. When Haynau resumed the offensive, took Raab under the eyes of his emperor, and hastened on to anticipate the Russians in occupying the insurgent capital, government and assembly fled from it once more, this time to Szegedin. The council of war decided to concentrate the army on the Theiss and Maros, with the Banat as the basis of operations; and Görgey at Pered, on June 20 and 21, suffered a serious defeat, but finally, after many engagements with the Russians, reached Grosswardein. Haynau, instead of following closely the retreating foe, as had been concerted with Paskevitch, preferred to guard the honor of the Austrian arms by completing alone and with his own forces the crushing out of the Revolution in the south. On August 3 he appeared at Szegedin, whence the fragments of the assembly departed to Arad, forced a passage across the Theiss, and beat the enemy on August 5 at Szöröd. On the same day the army of Bem in Transylvania was dispersed by Lüders at Gross-Scheuren. Haynau relieved Temesvár on the 9th, completely dispersing the army of Dembinski. All was lost. On the urgent representation of the council of war, Kossuth surrendered his office on the 11th in favor of Görgey, and fled to Turkey. On August 13 at Világos over 23,000 men with 144 cannon surrendered to the Russians, with whom Görgey had been negotiating for some time with the privity of his government. "Hungary," wrote Paskevitch to his emperor, "lies at the feet of your majesty." The other divisions also surrendered: Bem, after a final engagement at Lugos, on August 15, escaped to Turkish soil. Klapka defended Komorn until September 27.



Not treachery, as the cry of the vanquished would have it, but imperious necessity, had brought about this result. But when Görgey, from hatred of the Austrians, gave himself up to the Russians, although not to them, but to Haynau, the chief merit of the result belonged, he did the opposite of that which would have contributed to alleviate the fate of the conquered and to save the rights of the country. The exasperated Austrians took terrible vengeance on the rebels. At Arad thirteen superior officers were executed, nine of whom were hung. Görgey, on the intercession of the Russians, was only confined at Klagenfurt. At Pesth Count Batthyanyi was shot. Numberless were the imprisonments and the instances of reduction to the ranks of Honvéd officers; the depreciation of the notes issued by Kossuth reduced thousands of families to poverty. The constitution of Hungary was regarded as forfeited. Russia had forced upon the Sublime Porte, in the treaty of Balta Liman, her protectorate over the Danubian principalities for seven years; and now in its blind revenge the Austrian government joined with Russia in demanding with threats that Turkey should give up the fugitive ringleaders; but an English fleet anchored in the Dardanelles, and the encouragement given by the other ambassadors, disposed the Divan to refuse the demand in the name of humanity.

With like result as in the overpowering of the Hungarian revolution, but with greater glory, Austria succeeded also in Italy. At first, it is true, the easy victory of the Lombardo-Venetians swept along the remainder of Italy into the struggle for independence; even the pope gave his blessing to his troops as they were hastening to the assistance of the Lombards, while the parliament at Palermo pronounced the exclusion of the House of Bourbon from the throne. W. Pepe led 14,000 Neapolitans northward to join the crusade. All eyes were fastened upon Sardinia with the greatest intentness. True, Charles Albert's aversion to the detested democrats had made him disregard the first call for help from the Lombards. But he was no longer free to decide: should he abandon Lombardy, there would be a republic in Milan; one would follow in Turin. On March 23, 1848, he crossed the Ticino with 30,000 men; on April 8 General Bava at Goito forced the passage of the Mincio, and the 30th General Sonnaz fought successfully at Pastrengo. The country was wrested from the Austrians as far as the river Adige. But now appeared the incomparable value of the fortresses of the Quadrilateral — Verona, Peschiera, Mantua, and Legnago (Fig. 73). Sheltered by

them Radetzky was able quietly to await the arrival of re-enforcements; the enemy only dashed their heads against a wall in the attempt to force their way into the fortress of Verona. Not till the army of reserve under Count Thurn had opened the way to him from Isonzo through the papal troops, commanded by Durando, and Ferrari's Roman volunteers, did Radetzky, admirably supported by his subordinate commanders, assume the offensive. On the 29th Prince Felix Schwarzenberg drove back the Tuscans under Laugier at Curtatone after a stubborn resistance. However, the attack of Benedek and Wohlgemuth upon the king's main army at Goito on April 30 failed, and Peschiera, starved out, capitulated on the same

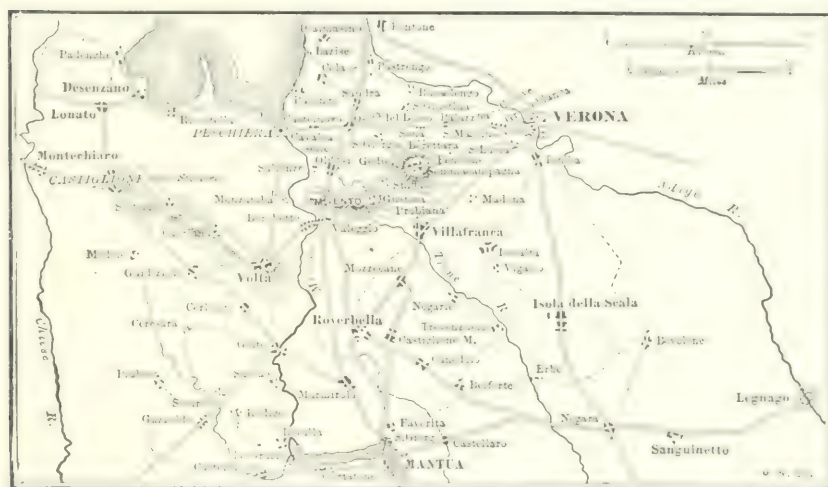


FIG. 73. — The region between Mantua and Verona (the Quadrilateral).

day. Three days of rain rendered all operations impossible, and, besides, all daily reports from Vienna were growing worse, so that Radetzky preferred to return to Mantua. Thence he suddenly turned eastward, unobserved by the enemy, compelled Durando to yield Vicenza, and by the capture of Padua and Treviso secured for himself not merely the possession of a territory abounding in supplies, but also communication with Austria. He then led his inspired army back to Verona, before whose strong walls he now held the enemy fast until a more favorable opportunity.

At Vienna, courage had sunk so low that there was utter despair as to the possibility of retaining the Italian provinces by force of arms, and the only hope remaining was to save a part of them by

negotiation. For this end the minister Wessenberg sent Baron Hummelhauer to London; but he found English statesmen fully acquainted with the exigencies of Austria. Lord Palmerston desired, as did his colleagues, an important augmentation of Sardinia, yet also the continuance of a real, though limited, influence of Austria in Italy as a counterpoise to that of France. For, in his view, the decisive consideration was to guard against the intervention of that power in Italy, since from it a general war must arise. But with the republican rulers at Paris the principle prevailed, precisely as with their monarchical predecessors, that to cause divisions among her neighbors was the just right of France. Were it to come to the formation of a kingdom of Italy, Lamartine had announced that it would then be necessary for France to lay hands upon Nice and Savoy; and the minister Bastide declared that the independence of Italy was allowable only in the form of a confederation of independent states. Anxiety in the presence of these pretensions of France induced King Charles Albert to state to England that he would be satisfied with the Adige as a boundary. Radetzky received orders from Vienna to proffer an armistice to the Lombards, whose independence was to be conceded under certain conditions.

That this solution was not reached, was caused, apart from the repulse of the overtures at Milan, by the resistance which they encountered in the headquarters of Radetzky. The field-marshal at once despatched Prince Schwarzenberg with urgent counter-representations to Innsbruck, and effected the recall of the step contemplated. This confidence was certainly justified from a military point of view; for on the Italian side the league of the enemies of Austria, composed of such heterogeneous elements, was on the point of falling in pieces of itself. The republicans, confident of the support of France, were working in Lombardy against the king of Sardinia, who became the butt of all abuse and suspicion. Mazzini, the irreconcilable enemy of the house of Sardinia, had come over from London for this special purpose. On the other hand, there was directed against Charles Albert the jealousy of the princes, whose constrained adhesion to the national cause had been changed to severe apprehension for their own safety. To none of them was the enforced participation in the national war more intolerable than to the pope. It is true he knew not how to avoid placing his troops under the supreme command of the king, and acquiescing in the decidedly liberal ministry of Count Mamiani; but in his allocution to the

college of cardinals, on April 29, he solemnly defended himself against the opinion that he, who embraced all nations with equal fatherly love, contemplated making war upon Austria. Thus Pius IX. renounced the national uprising of Italy, which had been introduced by his accession to the throne. The change in Naples followed with more violence. Here burst forth, on May 15, the day of the opening of parliament, a wild, bloody street-fight between the unbridled populace and the Swiss troops. The government remained victorious, and immediately recalled the army and the fleet from the scene of war. Only Pepe and 1500 men refused to obey.

Thus Charles Albert was left reduced almost to his Piedmontese; and while his adversary behind the fortress walls fitted his army for the field, and strengthened it in every way, the king lost a full month in a fruitless struggle with want of discipline, lack of supplies, dissension, and suspicion. Without confidence even in himself, he finally moved, on July 12, to attack Mantua. But in order not to be compelled to move his left wing, the corps of Sonnaz, from the famous plateau of Rivoli, he committed the mistake of extending his line much too far. Scarcely was Radetzky (Fig. 74) aware of this, when, on the 23d, at Sommacampagna, with fourfold numbers, he dashed upon the enemy's weakened centre, and broke through it; on the next day, expecting the king to be on his retreat to Goito, he crossed the Mincio at Salionze; but when the king unexpectedly fell upon his rear, on the 25th, he rapidly wheeled about, under the burning sun, and defeated him at Custozza, notwithstanding the unequalled valor with which the Piedmontese fought. The profound exhaustion of his troops forbade his annoying the retreat of the vanquished enemy; but when Sonnaz's attempt to recapture Volta was foiled, in a fearful night engagement, the whole Sardinian army retired in confusion. Broken in body and mind, the king gave up the command to Bava. After Radetzky had rejected the terms of a truce offered by him, Charles Albert was obliged to abandon Milan, grieved, and his life threatened, by the same men who had so boisterously huzzaed for him a few weeks before. On August 9 an armistice was concluded at Vigevano, in pursuance of which the Piedmontese yielded all places and districts beyond their frontier. Garibaldi, who had hastened over from Montevideo, was invited by the Mazzinists to be generalissimo of the people's army, and operated for some time longer in the valleys of the Alps, between Lakes Lugano and Como, until he, too, was driven across the Ticino.



“In thy encampment is Austria,” joyfully exclaimed Grillparzer to the aged marshal. By his victories the almost extinguished faith in the vitality of the empire was for the first time revived. Wes-



FIG. 74. — Field-Marshal Radetzky. From the lithograph by A. Collette ; original sketch from life made at Milan by Skallitzki.

senberg, on August 5, had intimated to the English envoy that Austria was still willing to accept the line of the Adige ; but he now declared that negotiations could be conducted with Sardinia only upon the basis of the treaties of 1815. He exhausted every pretext of delay in order to prevent the dreaded intervention of England and

France, until the march of events compelled even Palmerston to give up the Italian cause as lost. Sardinia, unable to endure further delay, was compelled once more to try the fate of war. She declared, on March 12, 1849, the armistice at an end, although events occurring in the centre of the peninsula had greatly changed for the worse the prospects under which she again entered the theatre of war.

For since the defeat at Custozza the separation of the remainder of Italy from the national struggle had become complete. This inspired the king of Naples with courage not only to dissolve the chambers, but also to prepare for revolted Sicily, which, on July 11, had chosen for king Duke Ferdinand of Genoa, the son of Charles Albert, the same fate meted out by Radetzky to Lombardy. Messina was bombarded for five days, and reduced to a heap of ruins. Both sides carried on the war with such fury that the French and the English admirals interposed to put an end to outrages that were in contempt of all the usages of civilized warfare; the work of intervention attempted by them remained, however, without result. On April 2, 1849, the Neapolitan fleet made a landing at Taormina; on the 6th the land forces under Filangieri took Catania by storm, when the Pole, Mieroslowski, whom the Sicilians had appointed their commander-in-chief, was severely wounded; and on the 15th Filangieri made his entrance as conqueror into Palermo. The island's dream of independence had fled. In Parma an Austrian general commanded as ruler in the absence of the duke. Modena received with open arms Duke Francis V., who was brought back by the Austrians. It is true that the Legations and Bologna were evacuated by General Welden, partly in consequence of the protest of the western powers, partly on account of the weakness of his forces; and the States of the Church fell away to unbridled democracy. In vain Count Rossi, the friend of Louis Philippe and Guizot, and now the soul of the laical papal ministry, exhausted his strength in order by moderate reforms to change the States of the Church to conditions suitable to the times; he rendered himself thereby only the more the object of hatred for the Radicals as well as for the Sanfedists. When, on November 15, 1848, he was going to the reopening of the chambers, at the entrance of the building he was stabbed by some unknown hand. With his death anarchy broke in. The Holy Father was obliged to appoint as his ministers three Radicals, — Galletti, Mamiani, and Sterbini. But first he made the declaration, in the presence of the envoys of foreign powers, that he yielded only to

force, and that every concession extorted from him was null and void. On November 24, with the aid of Count Spaur, the Bavarian envoy, he effected his escape by flight to Gaeta. As soon as he was in a place of safety he revoked all concessions, and menaced with the greater excommunication all those who, by taking part in the elections of the constitutional assembly, convened by the provisional government, had become guilty of sacrilege against the temporal supremacy of the pope. Unmoved by this, the national assembly, on February 9, by an almost unanimous vote, pronounced the deposition of the pope as a temporal sovereign; the democratic republic was solemnly proclaimed from the Capitol, and a triumvirate established.

Entirely similar was the course of events in Tuscany. The grand duke, by inviting English intervention, had kept the Austrians at a distance. This gave free field to the democracy, whose headquarters were at Leghorn. He was further obliged to resign himself to the appointment as his ministers of two declared republicans,—Guerrazzi and Professor Montanelli. He sought to evade the pressure for an Italian constituent assembly by withdrawing to Siena, and then to San Stefano on the coast. Threatened by the pope with excommunication if he should yield, he appealed to Sardinia for assistance, which Gioberti, now president of the ministry at Turin, was ready to afford. But when the Tuscan troops, on whose co-operation he depended, at the first sight of Guerrazzi's squadrons scattered in all directions, the grand duke chose flight to Gaeta, which he effected on February 21, 1849. This ill success put an end at the same time to the Gioberti ministry at Turin.

After Naples had fallen away to absolutism, and Middle Italy to republicanism, Sardinia found herself thrown wholly upon her own resources for the prosecution of the struggle against Austria. But not on this account alone were the chances of the two adversaries very unequal; on the one side there was, indeed, some superiority in numbers, but defective equipment, depression of spirits, and confidence neither in previous leaders nor in the newly appointed commander, the Pole, Chrzanowsky, who, a complete stranger to the army, and even unacquainted with its language, was furthermore obliged to put up with the constant interference of the king; on the other side, a force admirably provided with all warlike requisites, confident of victory, and full of enthusiasm for its commander-in-chief. As crafty as he was bold, Radetzky did everything to confirm the enemy in the belief that, as at the first, he was contemplating

to carry on only a defensive warfare from the fortresses, but quietly made all his dispositions to fall with surprising weight and swiftness upon the Sardinian flanks. Instead of turning back from Milan to the Adda, he suddenly appeared, on March 20, with his main body at Pavia; and as soon as the striking of the clock announced the termination of the armistice, he opened the campaign by the passage of the Ticino, which at the same time King Charles Albert and Chrzanowsky were crossing in the opposite direction at Buffalora, astonished to strike upon an enemy nowhere on that side. Ramorino, who, with the Lombard legion, held possession of La Cava, was so completely surprised by this movement that he evacuated the important position after a brief contest, and thereby allowed the Austrians to cross the Gravelone also. Disturbed in his plans of attack by the unexpected intelligence of Radetzky's advance, Chrzanowsky gave orders to General Durando and the duke of Genoa to detain the Austrians in front of Mortara until he himself could come up, and ordered General Bés to destroy their communication by way of Vigevano with Pavia, and to push them back to the Po. At both places hot engagements were thus occasioned, which terminated to the disadvantage of the Sardinians, so that their retreat upon Alessandria was cut off, and that upon Vercelli and Turin was greatly endangered. Notwithstanding this, and contrary to Radetzky's expectations, Chrzanowsky decided to accept a defensive battle at Novara. D'Aspre, who with his 15,000 men made an imprudent assault, believing that he had before him only the rearguard of the retiring enemy, fell into extreme danger before the other corps could come up to his assistance. The defeat of the Sardinians, after an obstinate resistance, was decided by the piercing of their centre near the hamlet of Bicocca.

The king, who had sought death in vain where the balls fell thickest, solicited an armistice; but when from the mouth of von Hess, chief of the general staff, he received only bitter reproaches for his faithlessness, in order not to be in his person an obstacle to peace, he abdicated the throne that same evening in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel. He repaired to Oporto, where he died of a broken heart on July 26. The aggravated condition of affairs in Hungary, as well as aversion to the intervention of the western powers, to whom Sardinia had applied, disposed the victorious Radetzky to impose on the young king comparatively mild terms in the truce that was made. He must place his army on a peace-footing, disband the corps com-



posed of the emperor's subjects, and as a pledge of peace put in the hands of the Austrians the country as far as the Sesia, together with Alessandria. A possibility was disclosed to the vanquished of mitigating the conditions of peace; he needed only to promise a change of the constitution and adherence to the Austrian policy; but Victor Emmanuel rejected the temptation. The call of the Marquis d'Azeglio to the head of the ministry was a pledge that Sardinia, even vanquished, would not allow the banner of national liberty to fall. More than once the negotiations were nearly a failure; and even when peace was concluded, the chamber refused assent because it contained no amnesty for the Lombard fugitives. Azeglio therefore dissolved the chamber. The king himself, in the so-called proclamation of Moncalieri, turned to his people with a demand for consideration; and in January, 1850, the new chamber gave the desired approval. Venice capitulated on August 22, upon the news of the Hungarian surrender at Világos.

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE FAILURE OF CONSTITUTION-MAKING IN GERMANY.

AFTER the fateful events of September, the days of the government at Frankfort were numbered. As long as the two great powers of Germany were entirely engrossed by their internal affairs, — Austria having even to fight for her existence, — the delusion might naturally be possible that the central power possessed a vital and effective strength of its own; but it must of necessity disappear as soon as in Vienna and Berlin the state power had regained control. The catastrophe was hastened by the bearing of the democratic, and in a degree even of the liberal party, which would not abandon the erroneous opinion that, supported by the popular will, it could prescribe laws to the governments. More and more, consequently, did the whole national movement come into discredit with them and with every part of the population that desired peace and order. In Prussia this feeling was accompanied with hot indignation at seeing a well-established and well-guarded order disturbed and endangered by the measures of turbulent innovators, and the heritage of a grand historical past bartered away for a German patriotism which from the future alone could expect its justification, and in the present had accomplished nothing but evil. As well to combat these destructive forces as to protect the rights of the nobility, there was formed on the assembling of the so-called ‘Junker Parliament’ in Berlin a small but powerful party of feudalists. It established as its own organ the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*. It pledged opposition to the German national movement; at court besieged the ear of the king, and confirmed him in his abhorrence for the ‘apostate’ liberalism; but principally relied upon the military officers, who burned with desire to avenge the humiliations experienced from the democrats. But the more boldly this party ventured, the less did the ministry dare to become suspected of an alliance with it, and to confront the excesses of the democracy of the capital, whose extravagance increased from day to day.

The Prussian assembly, which hitherto had sought with extreme

moderation to carry into effect in a legal manner the acquisitions made, gradually came under the control of the Left, especially after several members of the Right preferred to separate from it in order not to be exposed to insults and outrages from the populace. The ascendancy of the Left was made public for the first time when, taking occasion from a conflict that occurred between the garrison and the citizen guard at Schweidnitz, on July 31, 1848, it secured the passage of a resolution, proposed by Stein, deputy from Breslau, that the minister of war direct army officers to abstain from all reactionary attempts, and to manifest a genuinely constitutional disposition; that officers who could not reconcile this course with their political convictions should regard resignation as a dictate of honor. With this act open conflict seemed to have approached very near. For the deeply injured king refused his assent to the resolution; on the other hand, the civic force threatened to maintain it with all the means at their command; and the assembly, under pressure from the populace, which had absolutely made public preparations to disperse the body in case it receded, declared, on September 7, by a vote of 219 to 143, that it was the most urgent duty of the ministry to issue the proposed decree without delay. In consequence of this vote of the assembly, the Auerswald ministry retired. Contrary to all expectation, however, matters did not yet come to an open rupture. True, the invitation to Beckerath, the former national minister, failed, because the king could not approve the liberal programme brought forward by him. However, the new ministry formed outside of the parliament, with General von Pfuel as president, conformed without hesitation to every demand of the assembly; and the two laws for the security of personal liberty, and concerning the civic guard, received in like manner the royal assent.

The simultaneous appointment of General Wrangel, on his return from Holstein, to the chief command in the Marks, and the assembling of 50,000 men in the vicinity of Berlin, should have warned the Left to be prudent. Instead of this, they were not afraid to offend the king decidedly by striking out, in the debates upon the constitution, from before his name, the formula, 'by the grace of God.' In the streets the terrorism of the wild proletariat was becoming more and more insufferable. When the assembly, on the motion of Waldeck, decided that the government ought to interpose with all its resources in defence of liberty menaced at Vienna, it was in danger in the event of the non-acceptance of this

proposal of being violently attacked: and not till it had almost unanimously agreed to the proposition as modified by Rodbertus, to invoke the protection of the central power in behalf of liberty menaced at Vienna, did the deputies venture, late in the evening, to leave the house (October 31). Anger at this incident induced the king, whose confidence had risen greatly by reason of the fall of Vienna, to desire of his ministers the immediate entrance of the troops. This step having been declined on their part, Count Brandenburg, a natural son of King Frederick William II., was intrusted, on November 3, with the formation of a new cabinet. Alarmed by this unambiguous manifestation, the assembly, through a deputation, transmitted to Potsdam a protest against this appointment; and when the king, while he received the address, refused to admit oral discussions, Jacoby of Königsberg, a member of the committee, was guilty of the indelicacy of calling after the king as he departed: "That is just the misfortune of kings, that they are not willing to hear the truth!" On November 9 the assembly was adjourned; and, in order to secure for their deliberations the freedom endangered by the populace at Berlin, the sitting was transferred to Brandenburg. When the Left, with von Unruh as president, appeared disposed to remain in spite of the government, Wrangel marched into the city, and compelled them to yield to force, after they had persisted in bringing forward an ineffectual decree refusing to levy taxes. On the 11th the civic guard disbanded; on the 12th Berlin and vicinity were declared in a state of siege, as were presently Breslau, Posen, and Elberfeld.

The disgust of the population with revolutionary manoeuvres, and their longing for peace and order, contributed eminently to the victory of the government, achieved as easily as completely. Soon, therefore, it was able to go forward, and to make an end absolutely of the Prussian assembly, which had shown itself as refractory at Brandenburg as in Berlin. On December 5 it was dissolved: but at the same time the king, "with the utmost possible consideration for their labors in preparation for it," issued the grant of a constitution, which contained, far beyond anything hoped for, the most important democratic acquisitions of March: the general electoral law, with the system of two legislative chambers, abolition of burdens on the soil, divisibility of the land, and suppression of the landlord's power. Unusual was the satisfaction at this settlement of the Revolution, which, without invading the essential principles of the



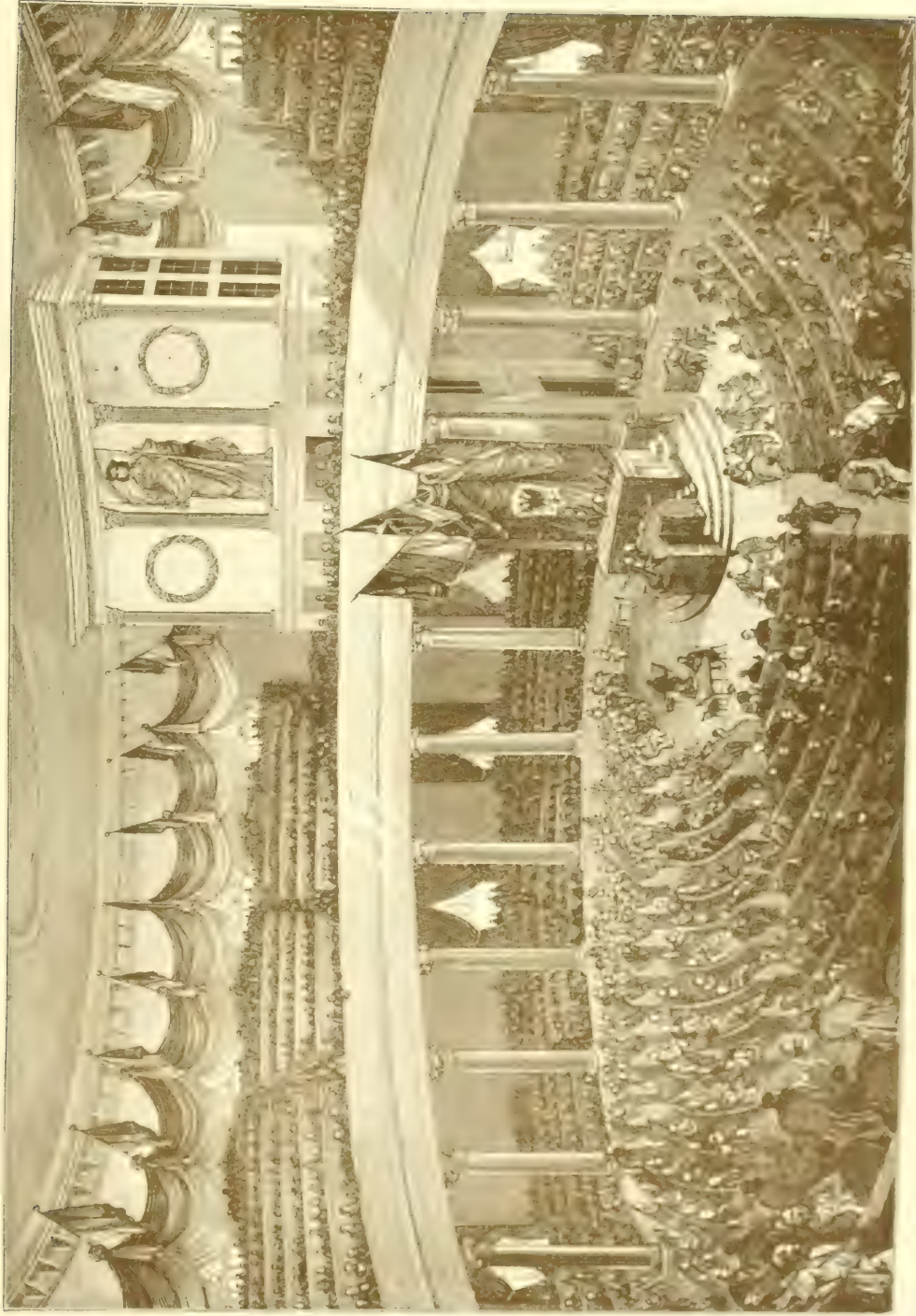
old state, was adapted to the necessities of modern times; only the feudal party was full of rancor.

Such was the condition of affairs toward the end of 1848, when the labors of the National Assembly at Frankfort (PLATE XXIV.<sup>1</sup>) had reached the point of making a constitution for Germany. Even at the first steps it was proved that the principal stone of stumbling in this regard would be the relation to Austria. That not this power, mainly non-German, but the greatest that was truly German, Prussia, should be the head of the new realm, — this conviction had from the beginning impressed the most judicious politicians; but the prevailing sentiment did not as yet allow this to be declared openly. In order, however, to obtain clear views upon this central point, whether Austria would or could come in, Dahlmann and Droysen, in the committee on the constitution, set forth, even in the first paragraph, the blunt expression that no part of the German realm should be combined with non-German territories to form one state; that if a German country had the same state-headship with a non-German country, the relation between the two should be regulated on the principle of a simple personal union. The perplexity respecting this was great, not merely with regard to German-Austrians, but also among South Germans and the Ultramontanes, who from of old had stood in specially close relations to Austria. Should, then, the creation of German unity begin with the rending of Germany? "All Germany should be one!" was the cry resounding from all sides. In vain Gagern sought to interpose by the proposition: Austria, in regard to her connection with non-German lands, should remain in permanent and indissoluble league with the rest of Germany; the organic regulations for this relationship to be the subject of a special enactment on the part of the League. This sober proposition was far less attractive to all than the elevated language in which the poet Uhland spoke of Austria as a young eagle bearing the fresh wounds of the conflicts of March and May, and approaching them

<sup>1</sup> EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXIV.

A session of the German National Assembly at Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1848. From the lithograph by E. C. May; original drawing by F. Bamberger.

Under the national eagle is the president, H. von Gagern, with the two vice-presidents, von Soiron and von Adrian, and two secretaries. Before the president's desk is the speaker's tribune; in front of this the table of the stenographers; at the sides, those of the secretaries. In the first row of the audience, between the pillars and next the president's desk, are the seats of the journalists; behind these are reserved seats, — at the right for ladies, at the left for gentlemen; next, behind the second and third pillars at the left, sits the diplomatic corps.



A Session of the German National Assembly at Frankfurt on-the-Main, 1848.

From the Engraving by F. G. May, original drawing by F. Bamberger.

(Engraving: Art Journal, Vol. XVIII, 1848, p. 100.)



in order to establish the confederacy of freedom; and demanded for her that she remain in Germany. Gagern withdrew his unfortunate proposal (October 28), and the final determination on this point was provisionally deferred. The deputies undertook, therefore, the further discussion of a constitution, with respect to whose first and most essential fundamental principle complete obscurity still prevailed.

The Vienna statesmen well understood that German unity implied not merely the loss of Austria's former influence in Germany, but even a peril to the existence of the imperial state. If the Austrian government had arranged for elections to the German parliament, this was not done in order, in an upright and honorable spirit, to participate in the constitution-making, but for the purpose of seeing to it that nothing should there occur to the disadvantage of Austria. Her government made the explicit declaration that it did not consider itself bound by the decrees of the parliament, but could give its assent to the new Confederate constitution only in the event of its being in unison with the special relations of Austria. An unconditional subordination of the hereditary states belonging to the German Confederation beneath the power of the league, it was added on April 21, could never be admitted; and should the new league overstep the character of a league of states, it would not be possible to co-operate with it. The sovereignty and integrity of Austria could not and would not be surrendered by means of connection with Germany. Austria persisted subsequently with reference to the German movement in a kind of passive opposition; paid no contributions for the fleet, and had nothing to do with the Danish war. However unambiguous these manifestations were, yet it seemed to be a matter of course that Austria should nevertheless enter into the new realm, and the appointment of an archduke as national administrator gave the greatest weight to this delusion. It did not disappear even when Windischgrätz, by shooting Blum, dashed his glove in the face of the Frankfort parliament. The programme of Kremser (of October 28) was the first thing that necessarily destroyed the illusion for every eye that was willing to see; for this was its naked language: "The continuance of Austria in the unity of her statehood is a German, as it is a European, interest. Penetrated by this conviction, we are considering the national development of the process of transformation not yet accomplished. Not until rejuvenated Austria and rejuvenated Germany have attained forms new and permanent will it become possible to adjust their mutual



state relations. Till that time Austria will continue to fulfil with fidelity her Confederate obligations."

From this evidently contrasted position of Austria and Germany as two bodies separated with regard to statehood, the question followed naturally whether the Austrian deputies could take part in future deliberations respecting the constitution of the state, and whether, especially, an Austrian could at this time remain at the



FIG. 75. — Eduard Simson. From the lithograph by P. Winterwerl, 1848.

head of the national ministry. The two Centres, which constituted a majority in the parliament, succeeded in effecting the retirement of Schmerling. On December 16, H. von Gagern became his successor, who was relieved in the president's chair at St. Paul's Church by Simson (Fig. 75) of Königsberg. From this there resulted the inconsistency that the national administrator, who was avowedly placed in that office to maintain the traditional predominance of

Austria in Germany, had a ministry whose programme really imported the maintenance of the existing Confederate relation between the two, and yet the recognition of the separate position of Austria pursuant to the Kremsier declaration, according to which it could not enter into the German state-compact about to be formed. However, neither the national administrator nor the Austrian deputies thought of leaving their places. On the contrary, the more the idea of a state began to assume concrete form, the more tenaciously did they cling to their connection with Germany. And they found a multitude of allies. It was not only true that a decided change was taking place favorable to Austria in the public opinion of Germany, which in like manner as it had been excited against Prussia by her sluggish management in the Danish war, became warmly engaged on behalf of the victories of the imperial arms in Lombardy, and began to conceive of the retention of the Austrian possessions in Italy as a German interest; but there was also the apprehension of having a Protestant empire, which drove the Ultramontanes into a closer adherence to Austria; and the Left, obliged to renounce every prospect of accomplishing their objects in Frankfort, joined them. From elements so heterogeneous came together the 'Great-German,' party, united only in that which they did not wish, namely, a German unity that would have been opposed to their separatist interests. At their head appeared Schmerling, as being at this time the most zealous opponent of the German federal state which it was proposed to form. He hastened to Olmütz in order to enable the statesmen there to understand in what way to treat the affairs of Germany. It was not long before he came back as Austrian imperial plenipotentiary to the central power. Immediately after him Schwarzenberg ordered the declaration to follow: that the Kremsier programme was understood erroneously, that Austria had no thought of giving up her rights and her position in Germany, nor to suffer her case to be hastily adjudicated in Frankfort. When, thereupon, Gagern procured for himself full powers from the parliament, in order to prepare the way for an understanding with Austria, sixty Austrian deputies presented a solemn protest against any decree by which German Austria should be excluded from the German Confederation. Thus the Great-Germans turned to account the seeming indication of a purpose to press Austria out of Germany against her will.

These machinations had also the effect of warning the party of

the empire to close up and re-enforce their ranks. By the accession of deputies from the Left Center, and even of some from the Left, there was formed a new combination of 221 members. The most important thing in their view was still to prepare the way for a better understanding with Prussia, the removal of the alienation that had sprung up between Frankfort and Berlin, to labor for the enlargement of which constituted in especial the malignant delight of the Great-Germans. The fact that the national ministry assumed the attitude of a guardian of the liberty of the people imperilled by the Prussian government, and by sending national commissioners to interpose between that government and its assembly, presumed to interfere in the internal affairs of Prussia, caused deep offence. Count Brandenburg, conscious of his duty first of all to secure the rightful constitutional position of the Prussian state, possessed also a warm heart for Germany; and the truly judicious, discreet, but friendly demeanor of Camphausen, the Prussian plenipotentiary at Frankfort, raised the hopes of the friends of Prussia in St. Paul's Church. But the views of the Prussian premier in this respect agreed only in part with those of the king. Of this Gagern was able to convince himself personally, when on November 28 he travelled to Berlin.

While Frederick William IV., in a moment of weakness, had suffered the pledge to be extorted from him that he would place himself at the head of Germany, yet in his own mind he remained wholly incapable of apprehending the great change that was taking place at the time. In all that occurred he saw only revolt from God, criminality, and baseness. Liberalism was to him a disease precisely like a wasting spinal malady. The delusion that the conflict of March 18 had been prepared at a distance, entirely by foreign instigators, remained with him constantly. The new establishment of Germany he could represent to himself no otherwise than in the artificial forms of the old empire, the imperial throne as pertaining only to an Austrian head, himself by the side of this source of honor as grand commander-in-chief or as special king of the Germans; and his lively fancy depicted the fact of his election by the kings of the confederation, and the assent of the other princes, as something easily accomplished. On December 13 he wrote to his friend Bunsen, who had entreated him not to withdraw his assent to the constitution-making at Frankfort, "I desire neither the assent of princes to the election, nor the crown. The crown which the Ottos,

the Hohenstaufens, and the Hapsburgs have worn a *Hohenadler* can naturally wear. But that one which you mean is exceedingly dishonored by the lewd taint of the Revolution of 1848, the most absurd, stupid, and the sorriest even if, thank God, not also the wickedest of this century. If the crown of the German nation, worn for a thousand years, is again to be transferred at all, it is I and my peers who will transfer it. And woe to him who seizes that which does not pertain to him!" So far extended his romantic deference to the imperial house, that he himself, through Count Brühl whom he sent to Olmütz, conjured Austria not to leave the fellowship of the Confederation. He solemnly protested that he would resist the temptation to accept the leadership of the Confederation, and begged to know with regard to the issue, what course Austria expected to adopt. This Schwarzenberg willingly communicated. First of all three things were necessary: strengthening of the provisional central power; rejection of the Frankfort draught of a constitution, and substitution for it of a new scheme; instead of one federal state the confederation of states again, but more vigorous and more easily handled than that of 1815. Concerning the fundamental principles of the same he was already in negotiation with the courts of Munich, Dresden, and Stuttgart. Germany was to be divided into six circles, the first to be composed of the entire Austrian territories. The five others should have always at the head of each a kingdom, in whose favor the smaller states, that no longer possessed vitality, should be mediatized. As the governing power of the Federation, there should be a directory composed of the six crowned heads. This draught might be carried through by means of an agreement with the National Assembly, and its adoption by it secured, were an army corps, commanded by the king of Würtemberg, stationed in the vicinity of Frankfort.

However great the approval of the king personally to this plan, yet the view of the majority of his ministers was in direct opposition to it. They considered that after the Kremsier declaration, though Austria might indeed be connected with the new federal nation, yet she could be so only in a relation analogous to that she had held toward the old Confederation. To support these views, Camphausen and Bunsen were summoned to Berlin, and their representations succeeded in changing the sentiments of the king. On January 23 Prussia issued a circular to the German governments which contained matter the exact opposite of the overtures just made by Brühl at



Olmütz. Disregarding Austria, it requested them to make known their purpose with regard to the articles prepared, imparted to the National Assembly the friendly counsel to listen to the wishes of the individual governments, declared its willingness to act in concert with the majority of them, expressed itself, however, against establishing the office of emperor.

This sudden contrast excited boundless indignation at Olmütz. "Prussia must suffer for this circular despatch!" wrote Schwarzenberg to his friend Windischgrätz. To Frankfort he addressed the energetic declaration (February 4): Far from shutting herself out, Austria, on the contrary, is prepared for earnest and candid co-operation, but a federal nation which leaves no choice save between a mutilation of Germany and the separation of portions of Austria so closely bound together, cannot be brought about; yet after the failure of the attempt to act jointly with Prussia, Austria now enters alone upon the path of agreement with Frankfort, and solemnly protests against the subordination of the emperor beneath a central power in the hands of one of the other princes. In this state of affairs, when the contention respecting the future formation of Germany had become a mere question as to power between Olmütz on the one hand, and Frankfort and Berlin on the other, it should have been the most imperious demand of prudence on the part of the parliament to seek the closest possible understanding with Prussia; but this was not allowed by party spirit and dissension. To what extent these prevailed in the assembly was shown by the debates concerning the supreme headship, when on January 17 the discussion of the constitution for the empire was once more resumed. To the party favoring an hereditary emperor, stood opposed a mixture of extremely diversified opinions. Some desired an elective emperor, either for life or for twelve or for six years; others preferred a governor for the empire, an office to which any German might be elected; according to some the supreme head of the empire should be chosen by the princes; according to others, by the national assembly, or even by the body of voters. Dahlmann showed convincingly for every one willing to be convinced, that the hereditary feature was a matter of course, and the committal of the dignity of supreme head to Prussia an historical necessity; yet Uhland closed his speech against hereditary rule with the words, "Believe me, no head will give light over Germany which is not anointed with an ample effusion of democratic oil!" A ten months' session had effected no approxi-

mation, no adjustment of views; but the opposition of opinions and interests, of races and confessions, was only intensified. To this diversity the final result corresponded. After the committal of the dignity of supreme head of the empire to one of the reigning princes had been adopted by the meagre majority of forty-seven, and the title of emperor by only nine votes, the hereditary feature, the proposed life-tenure of the office, and in like manner all other proposals, fell to the ground. The decision with regard to the supreme headship was obliged to remain reserved for the second reading; meanwhile consideration was given to the law of elections.

The utterly dishonorable character of the contest waged by the opponents of the hereditary feature in the office of emperor was plainly manifested on this occasion. The Left, who at first could not sufficiently exalt the sovereignty of the National Assembly, from the time when they perceived that they could not succeed in that body in carrying through their abstract demands, had given out the watchword that now an effort must be made with particularism; and they called upon the democratic majorities in the several provincial diets, which with loud outcries raised the pretension that without their assent the work of forming a constitution might not be finally concluded. But now the Ultramontanes, the Particularists, and the Austrians joined with the Left, in order to render the constitution as democratic as possible, and consequently unacceptable to the governments. This shrewd purpose was attained only too well. Nevertheless, the smaller states, menaced with mediatization, declared for the empire, although with a multitude of proposed amendments.

The Austrian constitution granted on March 4 seemed to sever with one stroke the knot that had become indissoluble. In a reasonable conception of it, no other explanation could hold than that thereby the right of Germany to constitute herself, without the now strongly centralized Austria, was virtually acknowledged. Nevertheless, Schwarzenberg gave it decided opposition. "The condition," his note of March 9 explained, "upon which the regulation of the relation between Austria and Germany depends may now be fulfilled; after the former has become a united state, the unity of Germany can be sought in the only way rendered possible to the former, without yielding up, and being merged in, the great Fatherland." What he would concede was a directory, a division of the empire into circles, one of which should be formed of the imperial state, and a house of states without popular representation. In this

manner was Germany therefore to be given the disgraceful humiliation of suffering herself to become a helpless appendage of preponderant non-German Austria.

Welcker, hitherto one of the most faithful combatants in favor of retaining Austria, saw this clearly. Without previous agreement with his party, on March 12 he brought forward the motion, that the constitution of the empire, as now lying before them, should be accepted by a single joint decree, all necessary amendments to be reserved for future sessions of the National Assembly, and the hereditary rank of emperor be conferred on the king of Prussia; Austria to continue now and for all time, to be invited to enter the Confederate state with her German territories. This proposal, from such a quarter, produced the greatest agitation. After a few days' contest, the proposal was rejected by a vote of 283 to 252. The assembly was obliged, therefore, to go through with the second reading, and suffer the absurdity, that the Austrians participate in voting upon a constitution from which they had excluded themselves. At the end, the pitiful majority of twenty-four appeared in favor of bestowing the supreme headship upon a German prince, and of four for the hereditary feature. To this result corresponded also the election on March 28 (PLATE XXV.). Nearly one-half of the deputies refrained from voting; the remaining 290 chose King Frederick William IV. of Prussia for German emperor.

A victory gained by so paltry a majority was equivalent to a defeat; it contained the proof that the pressure for unity aroused among the people was far from being strong enough as yet to vanquish the inherited curse of family jealousies and of ecclesiastical strifes. Nevertheless, the hopes of the party in favor of an emperor clung to the meagre result. A deputation of thirty-three members, with President Simson at their head, repaired to Berlin to deliver to the king notice of his election. The king's answer, on April 3, was altogether vague and unsatisfactory; the reservation of the revision of the constitution of the empire, and of the free agreement of the governments, was equivalent to a refusal. Whence this opposition originated, is not fully explained. In any event, Frederick William IV., king by the grace of God, had never contemplated receiving a crown at the hands of the Revolution. "One does not overcome the devil while one gives himself up to him," he had replied to Beckerath, when entreated by him not to disappoint the hopes of the nation. An election, which was more a dishonor

Ungeduldige, was ich in

H. Conrad Ludwig Gupler, Abgeordneter von Ulm, Mitglied des  
Parlamentarischen Ausschusses.

Sehr geehrter Herr Abgeordneter, ich danke Ihnen sehr für die  
gütliche Aufnahme und die sehr angenehme Aufnahme für die  
Geduld, die Sie mir entgegengebracht haben.

H. Alois Bock, Abgeordneter von  
Tübingen, Mitglied des Ausschusses.

THESE/MAST PAGE OF THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION OF SWITZERLAND  
AS WITH THE FIRST DRAFTING OF THE MEMBERS OF THE  
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WHICH TRAVELED IT. THESE/MAST PAGE OF THE  
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE SWITZERLAND, at Bern.



gestaates für einzelne Bezirke zeitweise außer Kraft gesetzt werden; jedoch nur unter folgenden Bedingungen:

1) die Verfügung muß in jedem einzelnen Falle von dem Gesamtministerium des Reiches oder Einzelstaates ausgehen;

2) das Ministerium des Reiches hat die Zustimmung des Reichstages, das Ministerium des Einzelstaates die des Landtages, wenn dieselben zur Zeit versammelt sind, sofort einzuholen. Wenn dieselben nicht versammelt sind, so darf die Verfügung nicht länger als 14 Tage dauern, ohne das dieselben zusammenberufen und die getroffenen Maaßregeln zu ihrer Genehmigung vorgelegt werden.

Weitere Bestimmungen bleiben einem Reichsgesetz vorbehalten.

Für die Verkündigung des Belagerungszustandes in Festungen bleiben die bestehenden gesetzlichen Vorschriften in Kraft.

### Zur Beurkundung:

Frankfurt am 28. März 1849.

Hr. Martin Eduard Simon von Königsberg Königlich  
s. J. Präsident der Versammlung der Reichsversammlung.

Carl Kirchgesner aus Königsberg s. J. II. Abgeordneter des Preussischen Reichstages, s. J. Mitglied des Reichstages.

Leinfried Simon aus Königsberg s. J. II. Abgeordneter des Preussischen Reichstages.

Leinfried Simon aus Königsberg s. J. II. Abgeordneter des Preussischen Reichstages.

Karl Kirchgesner aus Königsberg s. J. II. Abgeordneter des Preussischen Reichstages.

Karl Kirchgesner aus Königsberg s. J. II. Abgeordneter des Preussischen Reichstages.

Karl Kirchgesner aus Königsberg s. J. II. Abgeordneter des Preussischen Reichstages.

Max Simon aus Königsberg s. J. II. Abgeordneter des Preussischen Reichstages.

Karl Kirchgesner aus Königsberg s. J. II. Abgeordneter des Preussischen Reichstages.

Karl Kirchgesner aus Königsberg s. J. II. Abgeordneter des Preussischen Reichstages.

Karl Kirchgesner aus Königsberg s. J. II. Abgeordneter des Preussischen Reichstages.

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Karl Kirchgesner aus Königsberg s. J. II. Abgeordneter des Preussischen Reichstages.

than an honor, how could it serve as the step to the new imperial throne?

But another way offered which possibly might lead to the object if Prussia were now, on the proposal of the governments, and with the consent of the National Assembly, vigorously and decidedly to take in hand the provisional direction of German affairs; and in fact, it might be thus, for, according to current report, the national administrator contemplated laying down his office. With this view, on April 7, the invitation went forth to the governments to give within eight days, with respect to the constitution, binding declarations concerning their accession to the federal state, as well as their position in reference to the unification that was at once to be commenced. But of the states of the Confederation, only the smaller complied; the kingdoms disregarded the summons, even when renewed on the 17th. The National Assembly also rejected the proposed unification now as formerly. The more clearly its own weakness was disclosed, the more proudly it boasted of its presumptive sovereignty. On April 11 it gave forth to the nation the declaration that it would hold fast unchangeably to the constitution of the empire; but the uselessness of the decrees adopted by it, and the increasingly passionate and wanton character of its actions, showed the beginning of the death-struggle into which it was passing. The recall of the Austrian deputies by their government, and numerous voluntary departures, reduced the number of the required legal quorum to 150. Finally, nothing remained for it but to seek agreement with the governments. On Gagern's proposal, twenty-eight of them gave their full consent to the election of emperor, and to the recognition of the imperial constitution. But Bavaria refused her assent; the king of Würtemberg yielded only when an uprising was threatened; the opposition of Saxony found a support even in Prussia; the Hanoverian government dissolved the provincial diets that were inclined to adhere. Moreover, the national administrator had no thought of giving up his office. Miserable as the rôle played by him had become, he was obliged, even after the recall of the Austrian deputies, to persist to the very end, in order to serve as instrument for the complete destruction of the constitution of the empire, and to prevent the central power from falling into the hands of Prussia.

When the Prussian second chamber adopted the motion of Rodbertus for the recognition of the imperial constitution, it was dis-

solved on the 27th. On the following day there followed the definitive refusal by the king, of the imperial throne, and of the constitution of the empire; but he accompanied it with the assurance that under no circumstances would Prussia withdraw from the work of promoting German unity; that, on the contrary, she would use every endeavor to further the same, and that she still continued in readiness for an understanding with the National Assembly. Toward the German governments he expressed the confidence that they also would proffer aid to satisfy the nation's need of greater unity, promised them his help in the event of dangerous crises, and addressed to them the invitation to hold deliberations in Berlin. Should co-operation on the part of the National Assembly prove not to be attainable, it would be then only the more their duty to create for the nation a constitution which should set aside the disturbing elements introduced from the labors of the National Assembly.

In the presence of this decided declaration, the only choice left to the National Assembly was either to bend, or to try whether the imperial constitution could be put in execution without and against Prussia by a revolutionary movement. A portion of the former imperial party withdrew; but the majority remained, and on May 4, upon Wydenbruck's motion, issued to the governments, legislative bodies, and communities, the demand to give effect to the imperial constitution, and appointed elections to be held for the national diet to be opened in Frankfort on August 22. These decrees, however, were indebted for the majority of two votes, by which they were adopted, only to a sudden wheeling of the Left, which now entered the lists in its behalf, in order to save the principle of popular sovereignty. In Prussia this measure had the least success. In several of the middle and smaller states, the cry of defence of the imperial constitution served as a cloak for the cosmopolitan revolutionary propaganda, which by simultaneous outbreaks in Saxony, Baden, the Palatinate, Bohemia, and elsewhere, sought to overturn all thrones at the same time. In Dresden the insurrection broke out on May 1, under the leadership of Bakúnin, the Russian, and of the fanatic Tzschirner. Since almost one half of the Saxon army was stationed in Holstein, and the situation at first was critical, the king and ministry fled to Königstein. But notwithstanding their small numbers, the troops maintained an obstinate fight in the streets, until the arrival of the Prussian assistance summoned by the government, and after five bloody days, the uprising was beaten

down. Still more formidable appeared the revolt in the southwest. The entire Bavarian Palatinate on the Rhine, inclusive even of the majority of the authorities, submitted to a provisional government, and more than two thousand soldiers passed over to the insurgents. The example had a contagious effect upon Baden. On May 11 a military rising seized upon the Confederate fortress of Rastatt; on the night of the 13th a mutiny broke out also in Carlsruhe. The grand duke fled, the ministry was dissolved, and into its place stepped a provisional government.

The Frankfort Left became every day more disorderly and wild. The national administrator was required, by the decree of May 10, to act with all the means at command against the heinous breach of the national peace of which Prussia had been guilty by her unauthorized advance into Saxony, and to protect against all violence the endeavors making for the carrying the constitution into effect. When he replied evasively, they caused the further decree to follow, — that the entire armed strength of Germany be solemnly pledged for the maintenance of the constitution. The national administrator was given the choice, to yield or to resign. He, however, remained, and appointed a new ministry, which, from the absurdity of its composition, could be regarded only as a mockery of the National Assembly. The president was Grävell, former Prussian councillor of justice, whose place, however, was soon filled by General Prince Wittgenstein, of Hesse-Darmstadt, a persistent enemy of Prussia; the ministry of justice was represented by Detmold of Hanover, the deformed joker of the parliament; the navy and foreign affairs, by Jochmus, a whilom Turkish pasha.

Prussia answered the parliament's declaration of war by announcing on May 14 that the mandate of the Prussian deputies to that body had expired; an example followed by Saxony and Hanover. At first, fifty of those interested declared the recall not to be binding; after, however, the Radical Left had carried through, on May 19, by a majority of ten, the appointment of a national governor (*Reichstatthalter*), that is to say, the removal of the national administrator (*Reichsverweser*), they gave up the contest at last. On the next day, sixty-five members gave notice of leaving, others followed; the remainder deemed it due to honor to carry through the struggle to the end. But since, in view of the troops advancing against the Palatinate and Baden, Frankfort was no longer safe, the assembly, now dwindled to 105 members, a 'Rump parliament,' on



May 30 transferred its seat to Stuttgart, in the hope that Würtemberg, like Baden, would suffer herself to be swept along into the Revolution. But neither that government, nor the population, manifested the slightest inclination of the kind. When the assembly presumed to appoint a national regency of five members (K. Vogt, Raveaux, H. Simon, Schüler, and Becher), and the demand to remove speedily was not obeyed, the body was dispersed by the military.

Not less rapidly and completely was the armed revolution in the southwest overcome at the same time by the force under command of the prince of Prussia (Fig. 76), which was supported by a federal army commanded by General von Peucker. The reduction of the Palatinate was easily effected, yet 5000 volunteers, under the Pole Snayde, succeeded in escaping across the Rhine and joining the Badenese insurgents. The latter had at their disposal more than 20,000 serviceable soldiers, but there was a lack of officers and of discipline. Sigel, the commander-in-chief, in the attempt to carry the insurrection into the Darmstadt district, met with a bloody repulse from the Hessians on May 30 at Heppenheim. Mieroslawski, who had not yet recovered from wounds received in Sicily, assumed the command, and successfully defended the line of the Neckar at Ladenburg and Grosssachsen against the federal army (June 15, 16): yet in the disparity of forces his discomfiture was inevitable. Repulsed at Wiesenthal, a part of the insurgents dispersed. Mieroslawski safely brought the better part of his troops by Sinsheim to Durlach; but as they were incessantly pressed by Hirschfeld from the Rhine, by von der Gröben from the Neckar, and by Peucker from the Murg, flight to the Black Forest became general. Thence the leaders, with a large portion of the material, made their escape into Switzerland. Meantime, in Mannheim the dragoons had set on foot a counter revolution. Rastatt submitted on July 23; its defender, von Tiedemann, the Saxon von Trützschler, and others atoned with their lives. The poet, G. Kinkel, sentenced to the house of correction, was liberated by the bold stratagem of Carl Schurz in the following year.

The enthusiastic movement of the German people for the erection of a national state had wretchedly failed. It was of necessity a failure: for the indefiniteness as to object and means, the strife of dynasties, and the separatist spirit of the several populations, the inextricable relation to Austria and the widely spread ill-will to



FIG. 76. — The Prince of Prussia (afterward Emperor William I.). From an engraving by F. Jentzen : original painting, about 1846, by W. Thoma (1796-1871). (Masonic emblems on the table.)

Prussia, the political inexperience of the leaders, and the party spirit of the democracy, and in addition to all this the personality of Frederick William IV., rendered the attainment of the object impossible. But with this experience should be immediately com-

nected another, — viz., the governments, although they expressly recognized and even loudly declared the justice of the demand for national unity, were but little prepared to effect it. The king of Prussia, indeed, spoke strongly enough. The proclamation in which on May 15 he summoned his people to arms in order in such a crisis to defend Germany against internal and external foes, was accompanied with the announcement, that with the larger German states that were in unison with him he had reassumed the work of the German constitution commenced at Frankfort. Only the disadvantageous parts would be changed; the revised constitution would then be presented to an assembly, elected by the adhering states, for examination and assent.

Two days later, on May 17, there began in Berlin the conference to effect the object named in the king's proclamation. Twenty-nine governments, although in agreement with the object, did not appear, since they had once accepted the imperial constitution. Austria was represented only at the opening session. The only participants, therefore, were Bavaria, Saxony, and Hanover. With every day it became yet clearer that the bearing of the royal courts had not arisen from the patriotic desire to remould the empire, but from fear of the Revolution, and that the more this fear was allayed the more did that inclination abate. After the presiding officer, von Radowitz, had opened the conferences with the presentation of the Frankfort constitution, as altered, according to which the federal state was to be formed only of members that freely acceded, who were to remain separately in the former confederate relationship, and who in common with the Reichstag (national diet) should intrust the legislative power to be exercised to a college of princes, the executive power, to Prussia as administrator of the empire, — there then arose on the part of the other plenipotentiaries exceptions of all kinds in order to protect princely prerogatives. Saxony and Hanover desired that the possibility of a future participation of Austria in the executive should not be excluded, which was equivalent to the rejection of the entire plan. Since, however, Radowitz most expressly opposed this, the establishment of the relation to Austria was finally reserved for mutual agreement. Bavaria, who herself wished to participate in the executive power, took umbrage at Prussia being made administrator; and her plenipotentiary, von Lerchenfeld, reserved to himself a final declaration concerning the proposal. Saxony and Hanover brought forward likewise different



objections and considerations, but yet on May 26 subscribed the draught of the constitution, together with the electoral law and the invitation to the states of the Confederation to accede, acknowledged it, "under reserve of a declaration to be made concerning the question of the supreme headship," as of right mutually binding, and concluded with Prussia, at first for a year, a compact with the object of maintaining externally and internally the safety of Germany; the supreme leadership was committed to the Prussian crown, and a provisional court of arbitration and an administrative council were instituted. This was the so-called 'Alliance of the Three Kings.' On the 28th von Beust delivered the announced proviso: "the Saxon government will not and cannot suffer any doubt to exist, that it maintains the acceptance of all Germany outside of Austria as the condition of its own accession; should it consequently not succeed in admitting South Germany, especially Bavaria, into the national connection, Saxony in this eventuality must therefore expressly reserve the renewal of negotiations and the transformation of the joint constitution." The language of Hanover was similar.

These reservations completely set aside the assent to the compact, as they were designed to do. Without shame Count Benningsen, the Hanoverian minister, avowed to the English envoy that Hanover had gone into the compact entirely in the expectation that nothing would come of it; and in like manner von Beust assured the English resident in Dresden that Saxony had not wished to go into the Prussian scheme, and but had only for the moment yielded to the pressure of Prussia and to the movement in her own country. He boasted of having given the necessary signal to Bavaria that she should not accede. The entire transaction with Prussia was, therefore, nothing but trickery and deception. And yet both powers prepared the administrative council and the court of arbitration, and issued in their names the invitation to the other members of the Confederation to accede. The other governments acted, therefore, in good faith when they all, with the exception of Hesse-Homburg, Würtemberg, and Bavaria, complied with the invitation of the three kings, and, following the example of Prussia, recalled their plenipotentiaries from Frankfurt.

The natural and necessary completion of these preliminary steps would now have been for Prussia to take possession of the provisional central power. But all efforts in that direction failed; for, pitiable as the part had become that was played by the Archduke John as national administrator, yet the Austrian cabinet now, as previously,



held him firmly at his post, precisely for the purpose of preventing the central power from passing in some way into other hands. The direct demand from Berlin, to lay down his office in the hands of Prussia, he answered by a blunt refusal; to no power on earth did he allow the right to remove him from the post confided to him. The only thing that could have conquered this multiform resistance — consistent energy — was unfortunately wanting in Berlin. While not the least doubt could exist that Austria was determined to hold fast at any price to her hegemony over Germany, people lulled themselves in the delusion that she would allow herself to be led amicably to accede to the federal state under Prussian hegemony. Prussia scorned to plant herself upon the simple position that Austria herself, by the constitution of March 4, had renounced all pretension to participate in the German Confederation; but acknowledged, unsolicited, the actual and rightful subsistence of the German Confederation, and claimed for herself only the right to form within the Confederation a federal state. General von Canitz delivered to the Austrian court the proffer of a union of the new federal state with Austria, in pursuance of which the two should act as one in foreign relations; the leadership of this union should be in a directory with Austria as president; and Austria should be pledged to allow entire freedom of action to Prussia in forming the federal state, and give her assent to the arrangement that until the settlement of the constitution of the federal state Prussia should assume the central power. Schwarzenberg's answer intimated a decided refusal, and the Prussian negotiator returned, the matter unaccomplished.

Within Germany, therefore, Prussia could count upon no sure ally. On the part of foreign countries she met with open or secret antagonism. While, comparatively speaking, the western powers refrained from interference, the more embittered was the opposition which all endeavors after the unity of Germany encountered from the Emperor Nicholas. He continued to burn with passionate hate against the Revolution, which disturbed his traditional hegemony over Germany, and against faithless Prussia, which had made a compact with it. From the moment when Schwarzenberg received the promise of Russian aid against Hungary, he no longer needed to fear Prussia's national policy in Germany. But in Berlin itself that policy was assailed by the most violent opposition from the feudal party, who in the movement in favor of unity, contaminated by the Revolution, saw nothing but revolt and treachery, and in union and

federal statehood nothing but the extinction of Prussian independence, and the displacing of the foundation of her ancient policy,—a good understanding with Russia and Austria. To their suggestions Frederick William became more accessible from day to day, and whatever was done by Count Brandenburg towards the execution of the programme of May 15 he was obliged to wrest with difficulty from the reluctant and petulant king. The former imperial party of Frankfort, however, openly took the ground of his programme. On the invitation of Gagern, Dahlmann, and others, they met on June 26 in Gotha, almost complete as to numbers, and united in the promise to effect, as far as was in their power, the adhesion of those who had not yet acceded to the Prussian draught, and that they would themselves take part in the elections to the next Reichstag.

The enemies of Prussia found welcome material or pretext for fresh invectives and attacks in the course of the Schleswig-Holstein affair. In consequence of Prussia's declaration, made at Frankfort, that government had taken in hand independently the war and the negotiation with Denmark, so that they should no longer be sacrificed to the vacillating and unsafe position into which the central power had allowed itself to be forced. But for a long time a cordial desire was cherished at Berlin for some tolerable way of escape from this disagreeable complication. Every day the king felt more ashamed of the defence of a cause which was represented by those about his person only in the light of a revolutionary resistance to the rightful lord. But the more disposed to yield Prussia appeared, the higher rose the demands of the Danes. In the certainty that every defeat endured would only increase the zeal of their friends, they put an end to the truce of Malmö on April 3; although beside the young Schleswig-Holstein army, eager for battle, which General von Bonin during the truce had increased to 20,000 men, and provided with Prussian officers, there were also stationed in the duchies 45,000 federal troops, under General von Prittwitz. But on April 5 the proud ship of the line, "Christian VIII.," and the frigate "Gefion," which were intended to support from the sea the operations of the land forces, were compelled to strike their colors, in the harbor of Eckernförde, to two shore batteries. The "Christian VIII." was on fire, and blew up before her entire crew were saved. On the 13th the combined Bavarian, Saxon, and Hessian army, by storming the Düppel intrenchments, threw the Danes back upon the

isle of Alsen. On the 20th the impetuous valor of the Schleswig-Holstein troops wrested Kolding from them, and held it on the 23d against the Danes, who had returned with re-enforcements. But these tidings were for a long time the last good news that came to the German patriots. Prussia was more apprehensive in the presence of federal victories than on account of those won by the Danes; and the fortunate day of Eckernförde took from her the sole honorable support against the enmity of Russia, for that victory filled England with anxiety at the rise of a German maritime power. It was the emphatic word from Russia and England which paralyzed the Prussian conduct of the war. Only, in part for the purpose of silencing the indignation constantly increasing in Germany, Prittwitz at last advanced into Jutland, and forced the Danes back to Aarhus. But when the men of Schleswig-Holstein, after a victorious engagement at Gudson, May 7, turned of their own accord to invest Fredericia, and, notwithstanding the warning of Prittwitz, did not change their exposed position, the Danish commanding-general, Rye, rushed upon them with great superiority of numbers, in the night of July 6, and inflicted on them a severe defeat. In the eyes of the German people the entire responsibility for this misfortune fell upon Prussia, who now desired to be rid of the war at any price. On July 10 the preliminaries of a peace were signed at Berlin. Pursuant to this treaty, until its definitive organization Schleswig was divided by a line of demarcation, extending from Flensburg to Tondern, into a southern and a northern half, the former to be occupied by 6000 Prussians, the latter by a Swedish corps. The administration of the whole was intrusted to a commission, one member of which was named by Prussia, the second by Denmark, and the third, to act as umpire between the two, was named by England. Just a year later, on July 2, 1850, Prussia, in her own name and that of the German Confederation, concluded the definitive treaty of peace with Denmark, leaving the points of contention which originated the war wholly undecided. The treaty confirmed to both parties all the ante-bellum rights which they had possessed. England, Russia, and France, moreover, declared in the 'London Protocol' of August 2 the unimpaired integrity of the entire Danish state to be a European interest, to which they also brought the legitimate hereditary succession as a sacrifice. Bunsen received, indeed, from the ministry approval of the refusal made on his own responsibility to sign; but the duchies, after the withdrawal of the Prussians and Swedes, and the



recall of the Prussian officers, were none the less abandoned to their fate. With unimpaired courage, the forsaken people of Schleswig-Holstein resolved to continue with their own force the defence of their independence; but von Willisen, who was called to the supreme command in the place of Bonin, did not possess the peculiar qualities that might have made good the disproportion in the strength of the two armies. In the battle of Idstedt, that lasted for two days, — July 24 and 25, — the valor of Schleswig-Holstein succumbed to the Danish superior force, under General Krogh. The attacks, also, upon Missunde and Friedrichstadt, on September 12 and October 4, were repulsed; and there now weighed upon Prussia the scandal of having deserted the weak allies whose protection she had undertaken.

Under these circumstances vitality soon disappeared from the Alliance of the Three Kings. The former Saxon minister Pfordten, now the leader of the foreign policy of his native land, and wholly penetrated by the long cherished South-German dread of the ascendancy of the north, again brought forward the old Wittelsbach favorite idea of a triad, according to which Bavaria, invested with the hegemony over South Germany, should come in as a mediating body with and between the two great powers, Prussia and Austria. With full appreciation of the importance of gaining over Bavaria, Prussia went to the furthest limit of concession; but the altered situation, and the knowledge of a cordial union in sentiment with Saxony and Hanover, obliterated the last vestiges of a yielding spirit in Munich. At court and among the people the Ultramontane hostility to Prussia was aroused, and on September 8 Bavaria finally declined.

The central power also took sides openly with the enemies of Prussia. In a circular despatch of July 21 to the federal envoys, Prince Wittgenstein frankly expressed the confident belief that nothing would result from the entire Prussian work of unification; on August 4, in a despatch addressed to the plenipotentiaries of the duchies, he made formal protest against the "stipulations concluded under deplorable circumstances, between Prussia and Denmark, which had been brought before the national administrator for neither examination nor assent." In Carlsruhe and Stuttgart, Schwarzenberg's diplomacy was working underground against Prussia. After the first Baden troops appointed to be reorganized in Prussian territory had passed through Mayence, Austria declared that she would prevent by force any further passage. The Bavarian sisters upon the thrones of Prussia, Saxony, and Austria labored for the destruc-



tion of the May compact; on September 7 the royal pair of Prussia, in company with the king and queen of Saxony, repaired to Teplitz to salute the young emperor of Austria. On the next day the family meeting, for which preparation had been made very quietly, was continued at Pillnitz. Thence onward Frederick William IV. renounced the last trace of the heresy of a German nationality.

Prussia took the first retrograde step by dropping the condition, that in the establishment of a new central power, Austria should previously recognize the narrower federal state. It was characteristic of the crossing of currents in the highest regions, that the treaty relating to this matter, to the surprise of the Prussian ministers themselves, and before they had had time to take counsel with the allies, was already signed on September 30. In this treaty Prussia even consented that the duration of the functions of the Central Confederate Commission of the so-called 'Interim,' composed of two Austrian plenipotentiaries (von Kübeck and von Schönhals) and two Prussians (von Radowitz, and afterwards von Peucker and Bötticher), should be restricted in time until May 1, 1850. Should the agreement as to the German constitution as anticipated not be effected up to that time, Schwarzenberg would gain his object, the frustration of the Prussian federal state, and the return to the old Confederate diet. Now, on December 20, Archduke John ventured to lay down the national administratorship in favor of the Interim commissioners. Schwarzenberg previously, in a note on November 28, expressed himself thus: not merely the German Confederation, but also the Confederate constitution, still subsisted of right, and could be altered only by consent of all the members of the Confederation.

This faltering of Prussia filled the refractory second-rate states with fresh courage. When Nassau on October 5, in the administrative council, proposed the calling of the Reichstag, Saxony and Hanover raised opposition; the latter even presented a formal protest against it, until the governments that had not acceded to the compact should communicate their assent. Against a violation of the alliance which cast away all shame, Prussia for once roused herself. A council of ministers, at which the king presided, decided to order elections for the Reichstag, and to call the federal state into life, if need be, even without Saxony and Hanover. When these two states, after the administrative council on the 19th had appointed the elections on January 31, 1850, indicated their purpose to withdraw; when

Austria, and following her example, Bavaria and Württemberg, made a formal protest against the summoning of the Reichstag, and Hanover thereupon renounced the May compact, the Prussian government on February 16 agreed to a loan of 18,000,000 thalers, "that it might be armed against the enemies of order." The administrative council made the modifications occasioned by the defection of Saxony and Hanover in such a manner that instead of the German State (*Reich*), a 'German Union' only should be contemplated.

Only in the purpose to break up the federal assembly under a Prussian influence were the kings united. In all other points there was union neither among themselves nor with Austria; they desired especially a speedy end of the Interim government, from which they were excluded. Schwarzenberg rejected the counter-draught of Confederate reform elaborated by them, and desired such decided changes in it, that Hanover in consequence withdrew. The remaining three, on the other hand, upon February 27, signed the Alliance of the Four Kings (so-called in the hope of Hanover's return), which opposed to the federal state a confederation of states, with seven directors and a national representation of three hundred delegates of the diets, inclusive of a hundred from all the languages of the entire empire of Austria. The free development of the German popular spirit they declared was to be seen only in the continued maintenance of the dualism between Prussia and Austria. The central point of the vast bungling work lay, therefore, with the exception of the endeavor of the states of middle size to increase their power at the expense of the smaller, in the demand for the admission of all Austria into the Confederation.

In Berlin, meanwhile, the alternations of resolution and indecision continued. The coarse invectives against Prussia, which the king of Württemberg presumed to make in his speech from the throne on March 15, had been followed by the immediate recall of the Prussian envoy from Stuttgart. But the work of union was languishing more and more. Not the least among the causes of this change was the way and manner in which, just at this time, the Prussian constitution had come to a settlement. The same party that urged the withdrawal of Prussia from the German policy had also overmastered at home the government of Count Brandenburg, and all more easily since the minister of the interior, von Manteuffel, had wholly gone over to it. By this party the grant of the electoral law of May 30, 1849, was effected, a law that introduced the system

of three classes ; and because as a consequence of this the democrats and even a large number of the Constitutional party abstained from the election, the ascendancy of the Right in the new chambers resulted. After four months of severe conflict the Constitutionals at last believed that they might venture to rejoice over their work as saved, when on January 9, 1850, they were surprised by a royal message, which demanded 'new emendations ;' and not till these also were allowed, and among them, as the most important, the transformation of the first chamber into one composed of hereditary and life members, was the constitution made public on January 30, as the state's fundamental law, and sworn to by the king on February 6, with the expression of the assurance, "that future diets will succeed in effacing the broad stamp of its origin, and render it increasingly more conformable to the vital conditions of Prussia."

After the settlement of the Prussian state Constitution which resulted in this manner, the aristocracy and bureaucracy, the entire Right, felt less than ever before a desire to occupy themselves with a Union constitution, which might have contained again somewhat of the carefully rejected democratic principles ; and this party constituted the Right in the parliament (Reichstag) of the Union that met at Erfurt on March 20. The Frankfort Centres, which here, also, formed the majority, and consequently chose the presidents of the Lower House and of the House of States, viz., Simson and R. von Auerswald, now sat upon the Left. With wise moderation the latter confined their programme to the speedy settlement of the work of the constitution by harmonious co-operation with the Confederated governments, and by acceptance of the draught of the constitution, together with the additional acts. The discourse with which von Radowitz, as chairman of the administrative council, introduced the labors of the Lower House, breathed the happiest confidence. But the more energetically did the enemy strive to unhinge the Union. Schwarzenberg, for that purpose, made use of a double game, coarse, indeed, but yet effectual. In the event of Prussia abiding firmly by her German policy, his sympathies would be altogether with the four kings. But he was prepared at once to throw their interests to the winds, as soon as Frederick William should suffer himself to be led back into the Austrian reactionary path ; and he had a masterly comprehension of the manner in which to profit by the king's dread of fellowship with the Revolution, and direct it against the Union. As a field of action he selected the



electorate of Hesse, whose prince-electoral had dismissed the liberal Eberhard ministry, which was favorable to Prussia, and recalled the ill-reputed Hassenpflug. This man introduced himself with the proposal to adjourn the Erfurt parliament, in order that before the conclusion of the union with the second-rate states a general revision of the Confederation might be discussed. But the most painful astonishment took possession of the majority of the Reichstag, when Radowicz himself, after returning from a visit to Berlin, opposed the proposals of his own government, and declared himself, with a warning that was almost a threat, for the acceptance *en bloc* of the constitution, without changes. The majority relieved itself from the perplexity, when before the close of the Reichstag, on April 29, it expressed its approval of an acceptance without alterations, but at the same time reached conclusions respecting a number of amendments whose acceptance it commended to the princes.

In order that after the separation of the parliament the work which it left behind might not perish in the multitude of objections or conditional approvals by the individual governments, the summoning of a congress of princes was urged by Duke Ernest of Saxe-Coburg, who from the first had warmly espoused the national cause. The propriety of this measure appeared the more plainly when Schwarzenberg, by virtue of Austria's right to the presidency, invited the German governments to meet at Frankfort on May 10, to consult together with regard to the form to be given to the Confederation on the expiration of the Interim. The Prussian king seized upon the thought in his enthusiastic manner; but after the meeting of the congress in Berlin, on May 9, he again became uneasy, and wished to know nothing of binding decrees. Nearly all the princes who appeared brought with them a very honest zeal; but the elector of Hesse and his minister, Hassenpflug, had come as was soon made manifest, solely for the purpose of preventing the accomplishment of anything. Of the definitive establishment of the Union the question must be waived on account of the want of unanimity. Those present were satisfied to appoint a provisional college of princes in place of the administrative council, and concluded to recognize the Frankfort conference as being only a free association, and not as the continuation of the old Confederate diet. But the electorate of Hesse, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and Schaumburg-Lippe seceded. They sent delegates to the Frankfurt conference, which hitherto, besides Austria, consisted only of the four kingdoms,



Hesse-Homburg, and Luxemburg; and thus the ruin of the Union was completed. The gradual withdrawal of Prussia gave the opposite party courage now to take the last step. On August 7, upon Austria's motion, the summons was issued for the restoration of the Confederate diet. The circumstance that the authorization for forming the Alliance of the Three Kings had been derived from the acts of the Confederation (Article II.), made it easier to maintain that the Confederate diet had not been abolished, but only temporarily inactive. The proposal was accompanied with the solemn assurance that, far from being a return to previous conditions and forms, this measure comprehended the only means yet remaining for securing a new moulding of the Confederation suited to the times. On September 2 the smaller council of the Confederate diet, with eleven out of the seventeen members belonging to it, came to life again.

To impress on this arbitrary act the seal of effectual recognition, there was requisite a fit pretext for calling upon the Confederation for an exercise of authority; and to accomplish this no one was more adapted and prepared than Hassenpflug. Through him the electorate of Hesse was made the scene of one of the most shameful transactions known in the history of Germany. After repeated dissolutions of the provincial diets, occasioned by the refusal of unwarrantable demands for money, on September 4, with purposed violation of the constitution, he exacted imposts without assent of the estates. When thereupon the commission of the estates protested, the highest authorities and courts of justice pronounced the ordinance contrary to the constitution; and the state of siege that was declared was acknowledged neither by the people nor by the authorities. When the attempted regulation of the refractory courts continued to be ineffectual, and even the larger part of the body of officers preferred to resign rather than violate their oath to the constitution by recognizing the ordinances, the elector fled to Wilhelmsbad, and called upon the Confederation for assistance. Then Schwarzenberg had the opportunity he desired. On September 21 the so-called *plenum* invited the electoral government to do everything in its power to maintain the endangered supreme authority of the land, while it was preparing besides to adopt all measures necessary for that end. On October 11 the Emperor Francis Joseph, and the kings of Bavaria and Württemberg, together with their ministers, conferred together at Bregenz with regard to further proceedings. On

the 25th, upon Hassenpflug's formal requisition, made at Frankfort, it was decided to issue an execution against the rebellious electorate of Hesse, and its enforcement was committed to Bavaria and Austria.

But on this occasion Prussia seemed disposed to accept the challenge. On September 26, Radowitz, who had been appointed to succeed Schleinitz as minister of foreign affairs, despatched the declaration to Frankfort that Prussia did not recognize the decree of the 21st, and would oppose the execution of it by armed force. Every day might bring about a bloody collision. Prussia was not, however, in a situation such as would allow her to confront so fateful a decision with glad and unimpaired confidence. True, the spirit of the people was universally lofty and warlike; less agreement prevailed in government circles. From his visit to the Emperor Nicholas at Warsaw, and his journey to England, the prince of Prussia had returned with the certainty that Prussia would find herself completely isolated among neighbors openly ill-disposed; and that, on the contrary, Schwarzenberg, by his partisanship in favor of Denmark, had won the sympathies of the great powers, and especially of the czar, who condemned Prussian policy in all points, and more than once had threatened armed intervention. Ought Prussia to venture upon a contest with so powerful a coalition? To this question Radowitz said, yes. He also favored the maintenance of the Union, although the constitution framed for it at Erfurt had become impossible of execution. On the contrary, the ministers Manteuffel and Stockhausen, supported by von Gerlach, the adjutant-general, and the entire feudal party, thought the power of the state inadequate for this, and desired, the sooner the better, the dissolution of the Union. Count Brandenburg also favored a peaceful arrangement with Austria. In order to undermine Radowitz's position, his enemies resorted to a systematic misleading of public opinion, aspersing him as the foe of the German cause, and the evil genius of Prussia, and praising Manteuffel as the citadel of the Union policy. King Frederick William was unable to decide either to renounce the supreme direction of Germany, or to come forward energetically against his opponents. Like his friend Radowitz, he was reluctant to give up the Union, although, on account of its parliamentary principles, it was as obnoxious to him as to the feudalists; the resistance of the people of Schleswig-Holstein to their lords he detested, but not less the democratic Eider-Danish government at Copenhagen; he accurately rated the character of the elector of Hesse, but yet ran

demned absolutely the opposition of the country to its princes; he did not conceal from himself the danger of an excessive yielding to Austria, but war against Austria seemed to him an enormity in morals. In the midst of these contradictory emotions, he felt clearly and distinctly one thing only; indignation at the manner in which Austria, behind his back, while he was laboring in Vienna to effect an agreement respecting the constitution of Germany, had brought about the restoration of the old Confederate diet. To send delegates to this at Austria's command was to him like an abdication, it seemed a political suicide; substantially through this feeling on his part Radowitz held him firmly to the remainder of the plans of union, and to the protest against executing the decree of the Confederation.

Yet amid this diversity of opinions no fixed determination had been formed when the intelligence that the Emperor Nicholas intended coming to Warsaw suggested the wish, at the beginning of October, to profit by this opportunity for making a favorable impression upon the powerful ruler. A short time before he had been much vexed by the contentious course of Austria, and much pleased with the good will of Prussia, until the progress of the affairs of Holstein and the electorate of Hesse had brought about a change in his humor. It was decided to send Count Brandenburg to Warsaw with salutations to the emperor; he was to persuade him of the justice of the Prussian policy, and seek to win his assent to the same. It was an impossibility that could not be surmounted for Prussia to acknowledge the conference of Frankfort as the diet of the Confederation, since, after the dissolution of the diet in the year 1848, its recall could have taken place only through the unanimous action of all the members of the Confederation. On the contrary, the establishment of a future Confederate constitution as speedily as possible should come to pass as the result of free conferences on the part of all the German governments. The main points which Prussia wished to propose were, — equality with Austria in regard to the presidency of the Confederation, a Confederate council of seventeen members, the admission of all Austria into the Confederation, and the rights of individual states to form a more restricted union. The Holstein question and that of the electorate of Hesse should not be adjusted by the so-called Confederate diet, but by commissioners of the two great powers. Upon being informed that the emperor, Francis Joseph, accompanied by Schwarzenberg, would also go to Warsaw, the king addressed the former by letter with the earnest request to



turn away from the Confederate diet, which only created division, to the Prussian friend who had the same interest as he in the electorate of Hesse, — viz., the doing away of the evil example given by officers and magistrates.

Count Brandenburg found a gracious reception at Warsaw. Any interference in the German question was declined by the Emperor Nicholas, while he also declared a return to the Confederate diet to be the best course; he advised the count to an immediate understanding with Austria, and recommended to Prince Schwarzenberg the acceptance of the Prussian proposals. He himself desired only the speedy disarming of Holstein by Prussia, and in the electorate of Hesse the unimpeded carrying into effect of the Confederate decree. When Schwarzenberg assumed a warlike tone, he was given to understand that an attack on the part of Austria would find Russia also an adversary, whereupon the prince somewhat lowered his tone. With regard to other matters, Schwarzenberg showed himself prepared to accept with pleasure every concession made by Prussia, without, however, offering even the least on the part of Austria, and was entirely unyielding in reference to Holstein and Hesse. Count Brandenburg perceived that refusal on these points signified war, not merely with Austria, but also with the second-rate states, which in Vienna were urging matters to a rupture, and furthermore war with Russia; and he gave weight to the unprepared condition of Prussia, for in the prevailing unsettled state of affairs, every requisite measure for putting the army in readiness for war had been neglected. He, for this reason, gave advice at Berlin in favor of yielding. But yet indignation at the arbitrary convening and action of the Confederate diet preponderated there; furthermore, neither the king nor Radowitz believed that a warlike purpose was seriously contemplated by the enemy, and the former found the thought intolerable of this illegal Frankfort assembly ordering its troops to operate in the midst of the provinces of Prussia. He approved of instructions to Count Gröben, who was in command of the troops stationed on the Hessian frontier, in case of necessity to act solely from military considerations.

The same warlike feeling met Count Brandenburg on his return to Berlin; he did not, however, allow himself to be disturbed by it in his conclusion that war would not originate from this transaction. For after Schwarzenberg, under pressure from Russia, had conceded that Confederate reform should be decided upon free conference, what object of contention was there still remaining? To supply an ob-



half of the constitutional rights of the electorate of Hesse was as far as possible from the king's desire ; but the simple question of form, whether the restoration in Hesse should be accomplished by the Confederate diet or by Austro-Prussian commissioners, seemed to him not worthy of being the stake of a great war, and for that reason he desired that the inglorious affair should no longer occupy the minds of men. Yet no final result was attained, when on November 1 news arrived by telegraph that the Bavarian corps, under the command of Prince Thurn and Taxis, together with an Austrian battalion, had entered Hesse to carry into effect the act of the Confederation ; whereupon the same thing was done by von Gröben on the part of Prussia to protect the two Prussian military roads that pass through the country. In the council of ministers held on November 2, Radowitz once more brought forward the policy of resistance, the mobilization of the whole army, and the convening of the chambers. The king and the prince of Prussia agreed with him ; but the majority of the ministers adhered to the opinion of Count Brandenburg, and Radowitz consequently resigned, and Manteuffel assumed the ministry of foreign affairs, and also presidency of the council on the 6th — after the unexpected death of Count Brandenburg.<sup>1</sup>

Manteuffel intimated at Vienna, as early as the 3d, that the execution of the Confederate decrees in the electorate of Hesse and in Holstein would meet with no opposition. The news arriving immediately after of the advance of the Austrian corps of Legeditsch from Vorarlberg upon Augsburg, and of Hanau invaded by the Bavarians, did certainly arouse again the warlike feeling, and on the urgent request of the prince of Prussia an order was issued on the 6th for mobilizing the entire army and the reserves ; but Manteuffel hastened to assure the imperial envoy, von Prokesch-Osten, that these measures were adopted solely to calm public opinion. To the electorate of Hesse, where at the village of Bronzell, not far from Fulda, a slight engagement had taken place in which a Prussian horse was wounded, the order was despatched not to suffer matters to come to bloodshed ; consequently, von Gröben evacuated Fulda, and withdrew to stations on the roads. The more arrogantly did Schwarzen-

<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable that immediately after these events the legend was formed and subsequently maintained, that it was Count Brandenburg who urged armed resistance, and that the pain endured in consequence of the czar's haughty treatment, and of the disgrace of Germany, broke his heart. The true statement of the affair was first made public in 1887, by von Sybel (*Histor. Zeitschrift*, vol. 58, pp. 245 ff.) who derived it from the acts recorded in the Berlin state archives.

berg insist upon a definitive renunciation of the Union, and also upon the recognition of the Confederation and the evacuation of Hesse by a formal decree of the College of Princes; with these pre-stipulations he was prepared to enter into free conference respecting Confederate reform; should Prussia refuse assent, the envoy was to demand his passports. Of these demands, the first, which was entirely after his own heart, Manteuffel hastened to concede without delay. To its no small astonishment, the provisional College of Princes received the intimation that Prussia, in conformity to the wishes of Austria, renounced the Union. But that was unsatisfactory to Prince Schwarzenberg, he having now 130,000 men stationed in Bohemia, and ready for war; he desired absolute submission, and insisted upon the evacuation of Hesse. To the hesitating minister, Prokesch presented the ultimatum: evacuation within twenty-four hours.

Thus war stood at the gates once more, while to carry it on neither was Prussia prepared, nor were the king and his ministers inclined. Manteuffel could devise no other plan than to seek by telegraph a personal interview with Prince Schwarzenberg; without awaiting a reply, on the 27th he set out upon the journey. What he was to demand in pursuance of his instructions was extremely restricted and moderate, but it required little penetration to say that even this would not be conceded by Schwarzenberg. In this supposition, convinced that war was inevitable, and favored by the prevailing differences, Minister Ladenberg made an attempt in Manteuffel's absence to hold the Union together still longer; on his protestations the Thuringian small states ordered their contingents to be mobilized. Meantime, that had come to pass which no one could have anticipated. At Olmütz, where he met with the prince in company with the Russian envoy, von Meyendorf, Manteuffel had subscribed an agreement on the 29th, which absolutely cast Prussia into the dust. The final adjustment of the affairs of Holstein and of the electorate of Hesse was committed to the joint determination of all the German governments. Prussia promised to suffer the Confederate troops in Hesse with the approval of the elector, a battalion of Bavarians and Prussians was to remain in Cassel to maintain order; from the Holstein regency both powers were to demand in the name of the Confederation, under menace in case of refusal of a co-operative execution, the cession of all hostilities and the reduction of the army. In exchange for this, — that Prussia should now assist in destroying that for whose protection she had formerly pledged her solemn word.

—she only secured the concession to be spared the formal acknowledgment of the Confederate diet, and that the invitations to the ministerial conferences, to be immediately opened in Dresden, should be issued jointly by Prussia and Austria.

Sorrow and shame pierced every Prussian heart when these conditions became known. "Away with the ministers!" the patriot von Vineke exclaimed in the chamber. When the draft of the address contained the appended clause, that in the Olmütz adjustment a method was proposed that could scarcely be regarded as reconcilable with the honor of Prussia and her position in Germany, its acceptance was prevented by the prorogation of the chambers till December 4. The louder was the rejoicing of adversaries. Schwarzenberg could not do enough to humiliate and dishonor Prussia. "She must be degraded and then demolished," he said. Prussia herself must act as police against her protégés. Prussia finally preferred to recall her commissioners and troops from the electorate of Hesse, in order not to be by their presence an accessory of Hassenpflug, who, sustained by 5000 Bavarian troops and the Confederate diet, overthrew the legal status of the country, the judges and officers who defended it, adopted inhuman measures, and at last set aside the constitution. But Manteuffel expressed in the first chamber his gratification because "the revolution of office-holders, the revolution of dressing gown and slippers, was put down in the electorate of Hesse." Similar was the transaction in Schleswig-Holstein. It was a Prussian pontoon-train upon which the Austrian corps of Legeditsch crossed the Elbe at Artlenburg in order to complete the execution of the Confederate decree. With the impossibility of further resistance before their eyes, the government of the country declared their submission. The Schleswig-Holstein army was disbanded, the constitution of September 15, 1848, was deprived of validity, the promise of the Confederation to protect the ancient rights of the land was basely broken, the separation of the duchies was granted, and both were delivered over to the hatred of the Danes, full liberty allowed to the brutal Danizing of Schleswig, and by the London Protocol of May 8, 1852, the hereditary succession to the united states of Denmark, to the exclusion of the elder Augustenburg branch, was committed to Prince Christian of Glücksburg.

On December 23, 1850, the free conferences promised at Olmütz were opened in Dresden (PLATE XXVI.). At them, also, Prussia yielded step by step before the pressure of her enemies; the opposition







The members of the Dresden Conference at their first meeting.

From the lithograph by Louis Zöllner of the painting by

*History of All Nations*, Vol. XVIII., page 402.



meeting in the Brühl Palace, on December 23, 1850.

from life," by K. C. Vogel von Vogelstein (1788-1862)





The members of the Dresden Conference at their first meeting in the Bruhl Palace, on December 23, 1850.

From the lithograph by Louis Zöllner of the painting, "from life," by K. C. Vogel von Vogelstein (1788-1865).



meeting in the Bruhl Palace, on December 23, 1850.

om life," by K. C. Vogel von Vogelstein, 1788-1869).





to the draft of reform introduced jointly by the two leading powers proceeded only from the small states, which in punishment for their connection with Prussia were to be entirely excluded from the executive; and even the monstrous project of the admission of all Austria into the Confederation was not foiled by the opposition of Prussia but by that of England and France. Not till the sole remaining demand of Prussia, the right of presiding alternately with Austria, was stoutly rejected, did the perception begin to dawn at Berlin that in such circumstances the simple return to the old Confederate diet was the least evil, and even the only way of deliverance; on March 23 Prussia herself required of the members of the scattered Union to follow her example and re-enter the same.

Violent as was the onrushing tempest of the Revolution of 1848, its strength had not yet sufficed to subdue the particularism rooted in the governments as in the peoples, to overcome the reaction, and to burst the bonds preventing every national reform which chained Germany to Austria.

Nearly all the states as rapidly as possible removed the traces of the revolutionary year. In Saxony Beust revived, through the *coup d'état* of June 3, 1850, the old estates; in Mecklenburg the constitution, to which the grand duke had made oath, was overthrown by the decree of the Freienwald Court of Arbitration, of September 11, 1850, and the old feudal system restored; the nobility of Hanover, after the accession of blind George V. (November 18, 1851), regained their former privileges; and Würtemberg received again the ancient constitution. Two acts alone remained uneffaced. One was the victory of the constitutional system in Prussia, which was declared and permanently al-



FIG. 77. Wobeser. From the lithograph by Hermann Lubow. (Lithographed and engraved by the artist.)

though the feudal party aided Manteuffel in restricting the constitution within the narrowest limits possible. One proof as to the means seized upon in order to deprive political opponents of power to harm them was shown by the charge of high treason brought against Waldeck (Fig. 77), a councillor of the high court of justice, a most upright and popular man, but also a leader of the Left, and detested by the Feudalists, a charge which was properly only a continued disclosure of the most malicious and low denunciation, and terminated in his complete acquittal. The second result was the remembrance fixed in the soul of the German people as an imperishable legacy, that once they had had a representative assembly and the prospect of establishing a German state. That seemingly lost labor in St. Paul's Church was necessary to ripen the immature conceptions of existing relations, and to prove the impossibility of a German unity with Austria, and in order to bring before every eye, that was willing to see at all, Prussia as the only conceivable founder of the unity of Germany.

## CHAPTER XVI.

THE PRESIDENCY OF LOUIS NAPOLEON UNTIL THE *COUP D'ÉTAT*  
OF DECEMBER 2, 1851.

THE street battle in June, 1848, saved France from anarchy, from mob supremacy. Still the republic continued far from able to enjoy its life in safety. Cavaignac was an honorable republican and a brave soldier, but completely destitute of experience and penetration in political affairs; and the measures indispensable for the restoration of order — bridling the press and the clubs, dismissing to Algeria unemployed laborers, prolonging the state of siege, etc. — were equivalent to denials of the principles and promises so pompously announced during the first few weeks. The more daringly did the royalist party raise its head, having in the Constituent Assembly well-nigh the one-half of the numbers, and in the club of the Rue Poitiers possessing an organization that extended throughout the entire country. Thiers was its acknowledged leader; his strength lay in this, that he was the defender of sound and sober intelligence against the fantasies and fanaticism of the Republicans. The aversion of the country to the republic that had been thrust upon it was unmistakably expressed in the fifteen supplementary elections of September 17th; thirteen members fell to the Monarchists, two as formerly to the Radicals, the most moderate Republicans were left out entirely. Louis Napoleon, who was chosen five times, elected to sit for Paris.

When the prince took his seat, the Constituent Assembly had finally reached the discussion of the constitution. After two months of labor, this terminated on November 4. All power, so the new constitution decided, proceeds from the people: this they exercise by intrusting it to a legislative assembly of 750 members, chosen for three years; to a president, elected for four years, and only re-eligible after an interval of like duration; and to a bench of irremovable judges appointed by him. Suffrage is universal, and is to be exercised by cantons in connection with the *scrutin du liste*. The national assembly is permanent. A special difficulty attended the question as to manner of choosing the president, whether by



the people or by the national assembly. The republicans, persuaded of the anti-republican sentiment of the country, notwithstanding all their enthusiasm for universal suffrage, favored election by the assembly: while the Right, for the same reason, insisted on election by the people, and this was passed by the great majority of 627 against 130.

For a long time Cavaignac was the obvious candidate for the presidency: but with the fivefold election of Prince Louis Napoleon to the assembly, a competitor had arisen whose name at once asserted its old magical power. All those who had no desire for a republic turned their eyes upon this insignificant and taciturn novice, who opened his lips only to emphasize the need of a firm and wise government. He who was once the almost ridiculous conspirator of Strasburg and Boulogne, before one dreamed of it, came to be regarded as the defender of order and of authority. When Cavaignac gave no satisfactory reply to the conditions proposed by the club of the Rue Poitiers, the entire Right gave in their adhesion to Bonaparte. To every individual class wonders were promised in the prince's manifesto of November 27. The result of the presidential election of December 10 was, that of the 7,324,672 votes cast, 5,427,345 fell to Prince Louis Napoleon, and to Cavaignac only 1,448,107.

On December 20 the candidate elected entered upon his office, and made oath to the constitution, in the presence of the Constituent Assembly. "My duty," he added of his own accord, "is traced out for me; I will fulfil it as a man of honor. I shall discern an enemy of the country in every one who seeks to change in an illegal manner that which France has established."

Since the Right had cast the decisive vote in the election, the president (Fig. 78) took his ministry principally from their ranks. Under Odilon Barrot as chief, a single republican, Bixio, found acceptance, while out of gratitude to the clericals, Falloux became minister of instruction. Such a coalition of elements, fundamentally opposed, could not possibly be lasting; and the conflict with the president himself broke out in a few days. The fault was in the constitution, which, since it rendered him as well as the ministers responsible, created two responsibilities, of which one cancelled the other. The retirement of de Maleville, minister of the interior, in consequence of his refusal to deliver up to the president the acts relating to the Boulogne affair, was the first proof that the one must necessarily be subordinate to the other. In like manner the conflict

was unavoidable between the two powers that spring from the same root of universal suffrage, the legislative and the executive, because the constitution assigned to each of the two a sphere entirely inde-



FIG. 78.—Louis Napoleon, as President. From the steel engraving by Esdaile. From the original sketch by Sébastien Cornu, about 1849.

pendent and separate. The Constituent Assembly exercised the highest law-making power without any co-operation of the other functionary; the president possessed no authority to dissolve or adjourn the assembly. On the other hand, the president appointed or dis-

missed his ministers without having the least occasion to advert to the votes of the legislative body. Should the two become opposed, then only the right of the stronger could decide; for the heir of the name of Napoleon would have been the last man to be satisfied with the subordinate rôle of executor of the decrees of the Constituent Assembly. The simplest and most natural course would have been for the latter to declare its mandate superseded by the establishment of the definitive government, and to have given way to a new assembly; but from distrust of the permanence of its work, it resolved not to separate before completing the most important laws, and by this manoeuvre constituted itself for an indefinite period the guardian of the president. But it was a miserable and anxious existence which it prolonged. When the government anticipated a rising of the clubs, appointed for January 29, 1849, by timely counter-measures, the deputies, to their no small surprise, found their hall of session closed by troops. Probably the purpose already existed to urge upon Louis Napoleon the execution of a *coup d'état*. In fact, a secret council of the Élysée, at which, besides the prince, only Changarnier, Molé, Broglie, and Thiers, were present, discussed the question whether it was not now time to put an end to the Constituent Assembly, which had become intolerable; as Thiers pressed advice in opposition, the *coup d'état* was not attempted for the present.

On February 7 the Constituent Assembly appointed the meeting of the newly chosen legislature for March 19. A final blow was dealt to the republican cause by the discussion of the budget, which laid bare the fearful financial management of the provisional government, the prodigality practised for party objects, and the audacity with which these virtuous republicans had cared for themselves, and had loaded the plundered state with a floating debt of a billion francs. In the new assembly the Right had a total of 450 members. But to the universal surprise, the extreme Left shared with the Right in the honor of the victory; it had acquired 180 seats; the army had almost wholly voted Red. Of the leading names of the Constituent Assembly, few were returned. In the election of the president of the legislature, General Lamoricière, the candidate of moderate republicans, received 76 votes; Ledru-Rollin, the head of the Mountain party, 182; but the majority of 345 members, composed of legitimists, royalists and Bonapartists, brought back Dupin to the same seat which he had already held eight times under Louis Philippe.

The Barrot ministry, in consequence of the result of the elections, gave in its resignation; but since no substitute was found, it remained, with few changes, still in office. Amid this confusion of domestic relations, the foreign policy, in which the president went forward with far more independence than at home, was more clear. The matter of chief moment was the situation created in Italy by the flight of the pope, and the proclamation of the Roman Republic. The question whether the temporal power of the pope should be re-established was complicated with the other question, by whom this should be accomplished. Antonelli, the papal secretary of state, issued on February 18, 1849, an appeal for aid to the four Catholic Powers, Austria, France, Spain, and Naples. The battle of Novara set aside the protestation of Sardinia. To renounce his independence by such fellowship with reactionary governments was not to the taste of the president; but he could not remain a quiet spectator of the inordinate increase of Austrian influence in Italy without deeply offending the national feeling of France. Hence the great excitement into which he was thrown by Radetzky's last victory. The humiliation of suffering the Austrians to garrison Rome, the city which had ranked as the second city of the Napoleonic empire, no Frenchman could brook. On April 16 the legislature granted the credit desired for the expeditionary corps of the Mediterranean; and after a fruitless attempt to bring about an understanding between the Roman Triumvirs and the pope, the French envoy at Gaeta announced to the representatives of the other powers the determination of the Republic to intervene in Rome alone, without co-operation on their part.

The only question was on whose behalf should intervention be effected. The clericals regarded the restoration of the pope as the obvious recompense for supporting the election of Louis Napoleon. The Left, on the contrary, cried treachery at the thought that French arms could be turned against a sister republic. In fact, the president temporized in a measure; but although he continued his relations with the Italian National party, yet the wish to please the strong Right outweighed his fear of offending the Left. He and his ministers, however, were entirely at fault in supposing that the Roman Liberals were capable of receiving the French as friends, as liberators from the yoke of anarchy. This delusion was the cause that the expeditionary corps, under General Oudinot, numbered no more than 7500 men; and that, unwarned by the decision of the



Roman national assembly to repel force by force, it approached the city with too small a body of troops and without a siege-train. A sharp repulse resulted. Daring Garibaldi, in his red South American shirt, at the head of his volunteers, seemed to the French Satan in bodily form. This bad beginning gave the French assembly courage to venture a blow against the government, by declaring the expectation that the government would without delay adopt the necessary measures to prevent the Italian expedition from being longer diverted from its object. Of this blunder the president did not hesitate to take advantage. On the day next following he addressed a letter to Oudinot, which was communicated to the army from Paris in general orders. "Our soldiers," he wrote him, "contrary to expectation, have been received as enemies. Our military honor is at stake; I will not suffer it to receive injury. Re-enforcements for you will not be delayed. Say to your soldiers that I honor their valor, that I share their annoyance, and that they can always count upon my support and my gratitude." In order not to precipitate matters, he made to the exasperated assembly the concession that Ferdinand de Lesseps be despatched to Rome, with instructions to prevent the restoration of a regular government from being stained by blind reaction. Since, however, this diplomat conceived it to be his first business at once to conclude an armistice with the Triumvirs, he thus only obtained time for Garibaldi to repulse the Neapolitans, and to put them to flight at Palestrina and at Velletri, on May 9 and 19. On May 31, moreover, he concluded a new agreement with Mazzini, to Oudinot's extreme indignation; but suddenly he received his recall by telegraph; and, on the other hand, there came instructions to the general, on the arrival of the announced re-enforcements, to take forcible possession of Rome. In the night of June 3, Vaillant, general of engineers, began an assault upon the height of Janiculum, which, after a struggle continued for sixteen hours, remained in the hands of the French. On the 13th the cannonading of the city commenced. Although it had already become indefensible, Mazzini still continued his resistance from day to day, counting upon a revolutionary outbreak in Paris, until, after an obstinate engagement with artillery for several days, the assailants finally, on June 30, pressed in by storm. On July 3 Oudinot made his formal entrance.

Not without reason had Mazzini hoped for the friendly services of the Parisian democrats; the plan for the overthrow of the exist-

ing authorities was in full readiness. The Executive, since he had waged war against the Roman Republic, was to be deposed, the majority of the assembly, as his accomplices, to be displaced, and the legislature, thus purified, declared to be in permanent session; the rejection of the proposal signed by Ledru-Rollin and 122 Radicals, to bring charges for violation of the constitution, was to be the signal for resorting to violence. But the government was on its guard. When, on June 13, a mass of people began to move upon the Palais Bourbon, Changarnier's troops suddenly fell upon them from the side streets, and dispersed them without firing a shot. Ledru-Rollin and some other deputies who had taken up their position in the Conservatory of Arts and Industries, and there begun playing at holding a convention, fled panic-stricken, and escaped by the windows at the first fire of the advancing soldiers. This disgraceful and absurd comedy proved for a long time the ruin of the party of the Mountain. Thirty deputies, in consequence of this day, were declared to have forfeited their seats.

On the other hand, unforeseen embarrassments arose from the occupation of Rome. The astute Antonelli justly perceived that Louis Napoleon had greater need of the pope than the latter of him. Instead of complying with Oudinot's invitation to return to Rome, and execute reforms required on the part of the French, Pius IX. despatched a commission formed of the most reactionary cardinals, who at once, under the eyes of the French, began the work of vengeance by a multitude of removals, by erecting a tribunal of Inquisition, and by putting out of circulation the republican paper money. It could not be a matter of indifference to the president that thus the Roman expedition became a crusade on behalf of the papacy; and he gave very energetic expression to his opinion in a fresh letter, intended for publication, to Lieutenant-Colonel Edgar Ney. "The French government has sent an army," he wrote, "not to stifle freedom, but to regulate it, and to give it a more secure foundation. I perceive with sorrow that the well-meant designs of the Holy Father, and likewise our own interposition, continue to be fruitless in the presence of hostile influences and passions. Say to General Rostolan (Oudinot's successor) that he ought not to suffer any action to be perpetrated under the shadow of French banners which can dishonor the character of our intervention." This letter produced the greatest sensation in France and abroad. The pope, instead of preparing to return to Rome, withdrew still farther, to Naples and Portici. But

in France the arbitrary expression of his will furnished the most striking proof of the incompatible nature of the president's responsibility and that of his ministers. On October 31 he suddenly announced to the assembly the change of his ministry, adding the expression of his regret that the calling of men of different parties into the government had not borne the expected fruit, only a neutralizing of forces had resulted. "In the midst of this confusion, France, disquieted, seeing no leadership, seeks the hand, the will, of the elect of December 10. On that day an entire system triumphed, for the name of Napoleon is of itself a complete programme: it means, at home, order, authority, religion, prosperity of the people; abroad, national honor." The difference between the retiring ministry and the new, under the presidency of General d'Hautpoul, consisted in this, that the latter subjected itself far more readily to the personal will of the president.

Whither Louis Napoleon was steering could no longer be doubtful. This change of ministry, of which the only cause was his personal will, was itself a *coup d'état* directed against parliamentary government; and it was his enemies themselves who smoothed his way to usurpation. Real adherence to the constitution was found only in the small band of honorable republicans; the overwhelming majority of the Left was a conspiring minority, a party of Jacobins and socialists held together by sedition and declamation, which by its menaces, boasts, and agitations was continually bringing the republic more and more into discredit, and thereby served as a justification of every measure of safety, of every restriction of liberty. Even on the second anniversary of the Revolution of February, Thiers dared to characterize it as 'wretched and disastrous,' and to cast at the Left these words; "If the republic stands, if it has stood for two years, it is for the reason that nothing of what you desired has been accomplished; it is because all friends of order, putting aside all their recollections, have combined to sustain a government which they did not make, and to tear it from the hands of those who were leading it to ruin; and if it continues, you will not rule it, and only for that reason will it continue." How much these republicans by constraint fell apart into mutually contending factions was shown by the spectacle of the Legitimists availing themselves of the interval of adjournment, in order to wait upon the Count of Chambord at Wiesbaden, and discuss with him the possibilities of restoration, while Orleanists, on the contrary, gave a rendezvous to Prince Joinville at

Brussels. On the basis of their parliamentary majority, the Right yielded only too willingly to the delusion that they had the helm in their hands, and that without them the president was nothing; but with every measure of which they availed themselves to ward off the Revolution, they were delivering to a power which they distrusted a weapon not merely against revolutionary turmoil, but also against themselves.

How entirely different was the man who in the call of his ambition recognized but the voice of fate! The thought of a re-establishment of the empire formed the purport of his life from his youth; and by his election he felt himself summoned by the nation to fulfil this mission; and the ascendancy given by circumstances over his adversaries invited him to its accomplishment. With the skill of a master he practised the art of turning to his advantage the mistakes and weaknesses now of one party, now of another, of dividing them all, and bringing them into discredit with the country, while he endeavored for himself to disown all purpose to effect a change by force. One fruit of the league which the president and the conservative majority had concluded, to protect society from the dangers of convulsion, was the law relating to instruction of March 27, 1850, which, as to its principles, was derived from Minister Falloux. Its central point lay in the right accorded to ecclesiastical associations to establish free schools, in the removal of the educational requirement for the teachers in secondary schools, and in the perpetuation of the small seminaries already in existence. "Socialism or the catechism," said Thiers, "there is no medium." The Liberals had no thought of delivering over the future of the people to the rule of the clergy, that is of the Jesuits; but although the law as yet in no sense did this adequately, the Order of Jesus did not delay making the most abundant use of the new liberty. Up to the end of 1851 there were 267 institutions newly established, or placed under their control. Soon the French school as well as the church was in the hands of Ultramontaniam; and the higher education, that of the *lycée*, languished, the bishops employing for this purpose efforts wholly insufficient.

The anxiety of the Moderates reached its height in the consternation caused by the result of the supplementary elections held to fill the places of the deputies expelled after the rising in June. Owing to the efforts made by the party that had been defeated in the streets, it elected all its four candidates in Paris. The garrison



gave to Vidal, the pardoned hero of the barricades, more votes than to de la Hitte, minister and general. The heads of the astounded party of order entered into counsel with the president. Nothing remained for them but with him to press forward to the adoption of measures of safety that appeared to be necessary. Neither increased severity in laws relating to the press, nor in the laws regulating clubs, nor even the fixing upon of the island of Nukahiva as a place for deported prisoners, sufficed in their view. He must concede restrictions upon the law of universal suffrage. In order to avoid a violation of the constitution by directly annulling the law, the six months' residence required for the exercise of the right of suffrage was extended to three years; and evidence of a domicile was demanded in the form of personal payment of the tax; and further, the forfeiture of the electoral franchise was imposed for smaller offences. The number of voters was reduced in consequence of this law of May 31, 1850, on an average, twenty-nine, and in Paris even sixty-four per cent. In vain did Lamoricière warn his party not to aid despotism to forge weapons which might be turned against them. But the president saw with quiet, malicious joy, how eagerly the majority heaped upon themselves the odium of these measures, and furthermore he kept in his own hands the choice of the time when he should separate his interests from theirs.

For this seeming concord in truth only concealed the secret hostilities which he and the national assembly were incessantly waging against each other. The president made use, for this purpose, of the press, with equal zeal and skill. In every number of the weekly paper *Napoléon*, which was thrown broadcast into workshops and barracks, one could read with how much patriotism and greatness of soul the president was filled; of the ambition and the low passions imputable to the parliament. A similar and often a still bolder tone was struck by the other sheets that served the Élysée. On every occasion the same opposition was manifested. Scarcely had the assembly entered upon the debate relative to the deportation of the June insurgents when the majority of them were pardoned by the president. For the favor of the army a regular competitive race sprang up between the two. Since the Right, by reason of the most recent repressive laws, felt that it was relieved from fear of socialism, it regarded itself as strong enough openly to manifest hostility to the president. The proposed increase of the civil list, then amounting to only 600,000 francs, to the sum of

3,000,000, was refused; and only after long criticism, and by a small majority, was the sum of 1,600,000 granted for that year only, to pay the president's debts.

Perhaps the open breach between two powers would have been postponed, if not concealed, could the restriction of the presidency to four years, and the prohibition of an immediate re-election of the out-going president, have been removed from the constitution in a legal manner; but the agitation to this end did not lead to the hoped-for unanimity of manifestation. With so much the greater pertinacity the prince pursued the object of turning the eyes of the nation upon his person, and of rendering it through the constantly recurring glorification of the first empire gradually familiar with the thought of a second imperial régime. This was the meaning of the journeys which he undertook into the provinces, and of the discourses delivered in different places. "I have not come," he said at the banquet given by the city of Lyons, "to visit those localities in which the emperor, my uncle, left behind him such ineffaceable traces, merely to receive respectful greetings, or to hold reviews; the object of my journey is to encourage the good, and to lead back minds that have gone astray. . . . The mission which I have to fulfil demands your co-operation. . . . I am not the representative of a party, but of the great national manifestations, which in 1804, as in 1848, by means of order sought to save the great principles of the Revolution." He contradicted all rumors of a *coup d'état*. "But," he added, "if, on the other hand, culpable pretensions should menace the peace of France, I should know how to force them into insignificance, while I again invoke the sovereignty of the people, for I recognize in no one, more than in myself, the right to be styled its representative." The more he felt his popularity to be increasing, the more unambiguous was his language. At Cherbourg he already demanded an additional burden. "In every place to which I come, people desire roads, canals, railways, etc. Nothing is more natural; but these results can be reached only when you give me the means of obtaining them. . . . A great nation maintains itself at the height of its distinction only when harmonising its institutions with the demands of the political situation and its material interests."

The veteran conspirator knew very well, however, that the success of his plans depended mainly on the army. Then began a systematic course of labor with the troops at the reviews, where

the prince entertained them at his own cost. In vain did the permanent commission of the legislature demand the prohibition of the cheers, so contrary to law and to discipline of the troops, who huzzaed for the president, for Napoleon, and even for the emperor. It was of chief importance to the prince to win over General Changarnier, who, since the supreme command of the national guard was combined with that of the army of Paris, had control of an armed force of 300,000 men. Since this powerful man firmly repulsed all attempts, and nothing could purchase him, the only resource was to displace him. This appeared the more necessary inasmuch as the assembly regarded him as eminently the wall of defence against all Caesarean machinations. Since the ministry did not undertake the removal of Changarnier it received its dismissal. The new cabinet of January 9, 1851, with Baroche as president, was in large part composed of the personal adherents of the prince, — Rouher, Fould, Drouyn de l'Huys, Regnault de Saint-Angely, Magne. A decree of the same date divided the supreme command of the troops of Paris and that of the national guard between Baraguay d'Hilliers and Perrot, both of them generals devoted to the prince. The sword of the assembly was broken. Not to receive the blow altogether in silence, the Right demanded explanations with regard to the retirement of the ministry. The motion to appoint a commission to consider the measures to be embraced was indeed adopted, but only by a small majority, inasmuch as the greater part of the Left refrained from voting. For, little confidence as they had in the prince's devotion to the republic, they had far less in that of the Right. In the debate upon the vote to censure the ministry brought forward by the commission, Thiers gathered about him yet once more the adversaries of the prince. "There are two powers," he said in closing his last great speech under the second republic, "the legislative and the executive. If the assembly complies and yields, there is then but one, and the form of government will undergo change. And be assured, the name will come later; when? I do not know. It matters not, the name will come as soon as men desire it. The empire is ready."

The bearing of the president admitted only one interpretation, that he no longer cared for an understanding with his enemies; hardly, otherwise, would he have purposely exposed himself by the renewed demand of 1,800,000 francs to a fresh defeat. He knew that public opinion was on his side; the exchange had saluted

Changarnier's removal with a rise. The voluntary subscriptions, prepared immediately after the rejection of his demand, he declined; he preferred to sell his equipages, to restrict his household, and by the exhibition of his want of means put the national assembly to shame before the country. And just at this moment the majority fell into the greatest danger; two hundred and fifty members separated from the Right, to pass over into the camp of the Elysée; those who remained behind, upon the motion for a conditional revocation of the decree of banishment against the two Bourbon lines, divided again as formerly into Legitimists and Orleanists. After different unsuccessful attempts, L. Faucher had undertaken the thankless mission of forming a new cabinet, more from a feeling of duty to the country than from devotion to the president. The means of keeping him in the paths of legality, and of rendering a *coup d'état* unnecessary, he thought that he had found in removing every provision that forbade the re-election of the president. Moreover, the prince gave assurance that he desired nothing more. A vigorous agitation was opened for the prolongation of his presidency. The assembly saw the blow preparing against it, and parried it with considerable address. On May 23, 233 deputies brought forward a proposal for revision of the constitution,—not a partial one, but a revision thorough and universal,—that thus the country could make a free choice between a monarchy and a republic. In the midst of the preparations for this campaign, there occurred a new discourse of the president, delivered at Dijon: Neither the intrigues nor the assaults of parties are in accordance with the sentiment of the country; France desires neither the return of the old régime nor the trial of impracticable Utopias. "Precisely because I am the natural enemy of the one as of the other, has her confidence been placed in me. How otherwise can this touching adherence of the people to me be explained? If my government has not been able to accomplish all the improvements contemplated by it, that must be ascribed to the machinations of the factions. For three years the assembly always sustained me while the matter in hand related to combating disorder by repressive measures; but they forsook me utterly when I wished to do good to the people and promote their welfare."

Great was the indignation of the assembly upon which such severe reproaches were heaped in the view of the whole country. Changarnier seized the first opportunity to protest, while dealing



cutting side-thrusts at the president, that never would the army suffer itself to be abused, to engage in subversive, violent acts. But since the Left now took its revenge for the law of May 31, declaring that revision was inadmissible while the right of suffrage was mutilated, the requisite three-fourths majority could not be obtained for the project: on the contrary, a vote of censure of 327 to 314 was passed against yielding to the storm of petitions. After this rejection of the revision, with which disappeared the last possibility of the president obtaining his object in a legal manner, the *coup d'état* was prepared with increasing publicity. All parties saw it approaching step by step, but their arms were paralyzed by dissension. The Élysée was the focus of constant conspiracies. Since it was in the nature of Louis Napoleon to brood long and willingly over a plot, the moment for decision found him hesitating and faint-hearted. More than once he wavered as to the course to be pursued, until, universally repulsed in other quarters, he fell into the hands of desperate gamblers, such as his illegitimate brother Count Morny, Persigny, or Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury, who staked all upon one hazard. But this band of adventurers that surrounded the prince needed a general in order to accomplish the violence contemplated. This man also Fleury discovered; and it was in Algeria in the person of Jacques Leroy, called Saint-Arnaud, who after a life of adventure, had made himself remarked in that country by valor and cleverness. In order to impart to his name the needful military renown, although there was not the least reason for renewing the war against the aborigines, an expedition was undertaken against Little Kabylia, and the glory of its subjugation was assigned to him exclusively; to the fêted victor the command of one of the two divisions of Paris was thereupon intrusted, and the other to General Magnan, also a dissolute character, and ready to suffer himself to be made use of for whatever purpose.

The impatience of the conspirators was urgent for action. The execution was appointed for September 17; but various considerations made postponement appear advisable. Meanwhile the conflict was transferred to another field. To their surprise the president suddenly made known to his ministers his intention to propose the repeal of the law of May 31. Immediately the entire cabinet (October 27) transmitted their resignation. Their successors, a remarkable mixture of unknown names, were appointed for the sole purpose of masking the summons of Saint-Arnaud to be war minister.

The assembly met again on November 4, and was saluted by the president with the proposal to abrogate the law, that is to restore universal suffrage. The design of attributing to himself the merit of the liberal measure, and of casting upon the assembly the odium of reaction, was too obvious not to be perceived by the Right. In their anger they voted against the proposal; yet it failed by a majority of only seven, for of the Left sixty-six had voted on the side of the president.

Assured that violence would be employed, the Right considered their means of defence. On November 7 the quaestors brought forward the motion: "The president of the national assembly is charged with the duty of watching over the internal and external safety of the same; he exercises the right to designate the military force necessary for its safety, to make dispositions of the military, and appoint their commander. All officers and magistrates are bound under penalty to give effect to his requisitions." The menace against the president and his cabinet was not misunderstood; the error in the reckoning of the Right consisted only in this, that the control over the military power, which they wished to draw to themselves, lay already in the hand of their adversary. On the regiments brought to Paris the president could depend absolutely. Officers and men were exasperated at the demand to take orders from lawyers. On the 9th six hundred officers made a demonstration to the president of their respects; he declared publicly that soon he would appeal to their devotion. The debate, beginning on the 17th, with regard to the proposal of the quaestors, which assumed a passionate character from the first, clearly represented the confusion that prevailed in the assembly. The Left resisted the motion vehemently, regarding it as directed against the republic, and aiming at the restoration of the monarchy. The debate was continued on the 18th; during the entire day the president held himself in readiness, in the event of the motion being adopted, for an immediate resort to force; when the intelligence came that it was rejected by a vote of 408 to 300, he declared with equanimity: "Perhaps it is better thus." Sure of the army, and of the people not less, as he believed, he could now choose the day and the hour according to his pleasure. The conferring of orders on the exhibitors at the London World's Exposition gave him yet another opportunity to disparage the assembly by charging it before the eyes of the nation with demagogical ideas and monarchial buttumoutions.

On November 27 Magnan assembled the twenty generals of the army of Paris, and initiated them into the conspiracy; taking the entire responsibility upon himself alone, he desired of them implicit obedience. All promised solemnly what was required, and kept the secret. They made sure of the National Guard by changing its commander. In the evening of December 1 the customary levee was held in the *Élysée*. All the celebrities of the assembly, of art and science, were invited. The president moved with perfect ease among his guests; even the most careful observer would have discovered in him no trace of the purposes that agitated his breast. At eleven o'clock, when the saloons were empty, the four chief conspirators met in the cabinet of the prince, to which Magnan also was summoned about three o'clock. Here a division of parts was made. In the national printing-offices the requisite documents were struck off under a very strong guard of soldiers.

The blow descended like lightning. When Paris awoke, on December 2, all those designated, among them sixteen deputies, — Thiers, Colonel Charras, Generals Changarnier, Cavaignac, Lamoricière, Bedeau, and others, — were in prison; not one of the seventy-eight arrests had failed. Colonel Espinasse, who had suffered himself to be bought over by Persigny during the last night, took possession of the *Palais Bourbon*, and seized the quaestors. Morny occupied the ministry of the interior. On the walls might be read a decree of the president, which, “in the name of the French people,” ordered the dissolution of the national assembly, and of the council of state, the restoration of universal suffrage, the convoking of the electoral body for December 14–31, and a state of siege for the territory embraced in the first military division. A second proclamation placed before the people the principles of a new constitution: a responsible supreme head, appointed for ten years; a council of state to prepare laws; a legislative body, the product of universal suffrage, for discussing and enacting laws; and a senate to be composed of all the celebrities of the country; the whole being a slightly altered edition of the constitution of 1799. To this the president added, “If you believe that the cause of which my name is the symbol — that is, France regenerated by the revolution, and organized by the emperor — is also your cause, declare it accordingly by confirming the full powers which I ask from you.” Towards midday he held a review of the troops; but the people received him so coldly that he soon turned about, and remained invisible for several days following.

Different attempts of the representatives of the people to organize a resistance quickly succumbed to military force. However, some of the deputies of the Left, who had escaped from prison, succeeded, on the morning of the third, in rousing the laborers of the Faubourg St.-Antoine to rise in arms. Girt with their scarfs the deputies confronted the troops, but the soldiers were not thus induced to refrain from firing upon them; in this manner Baudin was put to death. Not till the next day was the uprising subdued. A multitude of arrests completed the victory of the troops, and these were conducted with the utmost recklessness. Temporary banishment was inflicted upon Thiers, Bedeau, Changarnier, Lamoricière, and others.

But in a different manner from July, 1830, or February, 1848, did the provinces on this occasion protest against that which had occurred at the capital. In a great part of the country bloody conflicts ensued; only forty-nine departments remained wholly quiet; fourteen or more were declared in a state of siege. To the aid of the usurpation it happened that along with the defenders of the constitution the Socialists had also taken up arms, and that the fear of these, and the inhumanities perpetrated by them, drove the population necessarily to the side of the president. The number of prisoners of all ranks, who, by arbitrarily constituted commissions, were condemned to suffer deportation to deadly Cayenne or to Algeria, was extraordinarily great. With the certainty of victory the number of those increased who declared for the victor, ready to accept honors, dignities, and power at his hands. The popular vote, the plebiscite, gave 7,439,216 in the affirmative, and 649,737 in the negative. At the head of his clergy the archbishop of Paris presented his congratulations to the president, with the assurance that they would fervently supplicate God for the success of his high mission.

The empire was ready. The name only was yet lacking.





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### THE REVOLUTION OF 1848.

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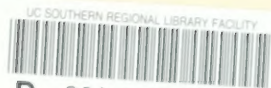




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